Curtin Graduate School of Business

What are consumer attitudes in urban India like towards ethical food products and what influences their attitudes?

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This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy (Business Administration)
of
Curtin University

February 2015

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature: …………………………………………

Date: …………………………………………

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Presentation of Information

Participant quotations

Several chapters in this thesis contain quotations from the participants. These have been presented in *italics* and have quotation marks.

Common diagrams

- **Tree diagram:** Some chapters have diagrams that summarise information in the form of a tree diagram, shown below, demonstrating themes and their corresponding sub-themes.

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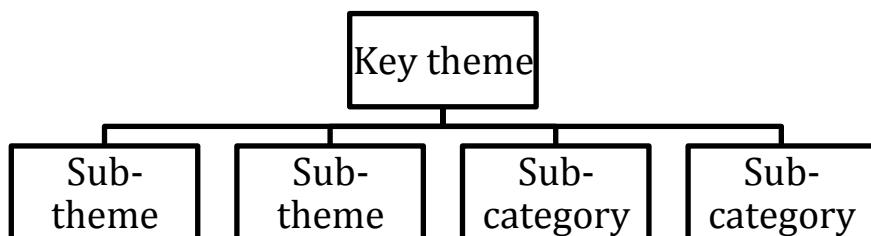
- **Other diagrams used:** There are also other types of diagrams that have been used to display relationships, hierarchies and order. Each diagram has been accompanied by an explanation.

Acknowledgement

My sincere thanks are due to the many people who have supported, encouraged and helped me during my journey. Firstly, I would like to thank my wonderful husband Hamada, who gave me the space, time and support required to achieve what I set out to do.

I would also like to thank all the participants in the study who gave me their time and accommodated my requests for information. My sincere thanks also go out to Dr. Priyanka Randev and Mr. Rupesh Desai – the team at Inquest Market Research India - who helped make the process of recruitment and data collection in India easier for me.

To the members of my thesis committee, my deepest thanks. To my primary supervisor, Professor Margaret Nowak, thank you for your support, encouragement and guidance in helping me to structure my thoughts, and go beyond thinking like a market researcher. To my other supervisor, Dr Troy Hendrickson, thank you for your guidance that challenged me to clarify my thinking while also encouraging me to think outside the box.

Last but not least, special thanks to my employers at Telstra and Nestle who gave me the time off work to travel to India to conduct my fieldwork, along with valuable time, after that, to write up my thesis. Thank you for your patience and support throughout this journey.

Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore attitudes among India's urban middle-class consumers towards ethical foods and understand what might influence their attitudes. As the levels of education and disposable incomes rise, and the urban Indian consumer encounters a greater array of product choices in the marketplace, this study aims to explore the perceived significance of ethical foods in India. The results of this study revealed a range of spontaneous perceptions relating to the term ethical foods. In summary, these mainly included religious, cultural and health-related associations while some felt the term was subjective, depending upon one's own views and circumstances. Although several studies indicate that, in general, the lack of awareness and availability of ethical products are barriers to consideration, this study identified additional factors such as mistrust towards product labelling and skepticism towards institutions in both the public and private sector. The study also identified constraints faced by the middle-class which might not make ethical foods a significant issue for them and different priorities and value systems, all of which are a reflection of the broader circumstances of the middle-class consumer in India. This study comprised three main phases: the triangulation of data sources which was on going throughout the duration of this study, pilot interviews and the main data collection phase, done through focus groups in Gurgaon, India. An exploratory approach was used to gather multiple perspectives and, for the data analysis process, an inductive approach was used to identify and create concepts and themes derived from within the data itself.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

"The greatness of a nation and its moral progress can be judged by the way its animals are treated" – Mahatma Gandhi

The purpose of this study is to explore the attitudes of India's urban middle-class consumers towards ethical foods and understand what might influence their attitudes. India is one of the world's most populous countries with a relatively young median age of just 27 years (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). As the country undergoes rapid social and economic change, there is a young new middle-class emerging - a segment that is predicted to boom over the coming decades. While such change is impacting the urban way of life and consumption habits, studies have indicated that many Indian consumers are also holding onto their traditional values, influenced by 'Gandhian' philosophy and ancient cultural beliefs that have prevailed for centuries (Venkatesh 1994; Majumdar 2010; Sinha 2011).

When it comes to concepts such as green products and socially responsible consumer behaviour (SRCB), it seems that awareness levels among urban Indians are relatively higher as compared to their semi-urban and rural counterparts (Singh 2009). Furthermore, many urban consumers also advocate buying environmentally friendly products, but the lack of awareness and non-availability of such products are potential barriers to usage (Jain & Kaur 2005; Gill 2012). Hence, as disposable incomes rise and the Indian consumer is presented with a greater range of product choices in the marketplace, this study aims to contribute to the

body of knowledge relating to ethical consumerism in India and perhaps also, in the long term, help encourage the practice of sustainability within this emerging Asian giant.

1.1 Aims and objectives of this study

When considering the emergence of India's young urban middle-class, with relatively higher levels of education, disposable incomes and a desire to lead a better quality of life than their predecessors (Majumdar 2010; Mathur 2010; Sinha 2011; Mahr 2014), this puts forth the question about the potential relevance of ethical foods in India, which is still a relatively new concept. Hence, the main questions for this exploratory study are - what are urban middle-class attitudes like towards ethical foods, and what might influence these attitudes? The other key questions to guide this study are as follows:

- How might young urban consumers spontaneously perceive and define the term 'ethical foods' given that it is a relatively new concept?

- What might influence their perceptions and definitions relating to the term 'ethical foods'?

- What are their attitudes towards foods that offer socially and environmentally friendly benefits, and what might shape these attitudes towards such foods?

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1.2 Definition of terms

The definitions of key terms for this study are as follows:

Ethical consumption – The intentional purchase and consumption of products and services that involves minimal harm to and exploitation of humans, animals and/or the natural environment (Mohr, Webb & Harris 2001; Freestone & McGoldrick 2008).

Ethical foods – This is similar to the definition stated by Mohr et al. (2001) in that ethical foods are those that have been produced with minimal adverse impact to their human stakeholders and the broader environment. In fact, Beagan, Ristovski-Slijepcevic & Chapman (2010, p. 753) state the term 'ethical' suggests "a deliberate, conscious attention to the use of food decision-making in order to enact a political stance relating to discourses of moral good and global responsibility." Various sources also indicate that ethical foods are closely associated with environmentally friendly foods (Freestone & McGoldrick 2008; Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2010). Examples include fair trade foods which aim to provide fair prices and better working conditions for farmers (Varul 2009; British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3); free range foods which give animals the freedom to roam freely as opposed to being confined in cages (British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3) and organic foods (Zander & Hamm 2010; British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3). Ethical foods have also been known to be associated with vegetarian food and the concept of 'moral vegetarianism' (Fessler, Arguello, Mekdara & Macias 2003) and healthy foods (Lupton 1996).

Urban India – The Census of India (2011, para. 2) defines urban India as meeting the following criteria – having a minimum population of 5,000 with a population density of at least 400 persons per sq km; at least 75% of the male working population must be engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; the region must have at least a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or a town area committee. This study covers residents from Gurgaon, located within the National Capital Region (NCR) of Delhi (District Administration Gurgaon 2013).

Urban middle class – The urban population forms about 30% of India's population of 1.2 billion (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). A recent classification, by the Asian Development Bank, states that a quarter of India's urban residents can be considered as middle-class with four out of five being in the lower middle-class segment with a spending power of USD $2 to $4 a day (Mustafi 2013). There is then the "middle middle" class who spend USD $4 to $10 a day and the "upper middle class" who spend USD $10 to $20 a day (Mustafi 2013, para. 15). Overall, India's middle-class is considered to be the country's fastest growing consumer segment (Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania 2008). The socio-economic classification grid (SEC), which segments urban Indian households based on education levels and number of possessions (The Market Research Society of India 2011), was used to recruit participants for this study and has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology) in this study.

The young consumer **–** This study included participants aged 18 to 35.

1.3 Consumption trends in India

After India's economic liberalisation, which happened during the 1990s, branded goods became a crucial basis for defining one's social status and relationships within society (Majumdar 2010; Sinha 2011). However, amidst this new culture, it is said that the urban consumer is attempting to balance this with long-held traditional values, which has resulted in a consumer dissonance between "austerity and extravagance" (Mathur 2010, p. 225). This is because while people are using the new culture as "referent of upward mobility in society", they are also critiquing this very culture of consumer hedonism (Mathur 2010, p. 226).

Some context for the present day dissonance can be found when delving into India's cultural history. Hinduism, the primary religion of the country, represents a way of life that has evolved over many centuries (Venkatesh 1994). One of its basic premises is the maintenance of man's symbiotic relationship with nature (Venkatesh 1994; Chapple 1998; Sharma, Aggarwal & Kumar 2014) as Hinduism often portrays "the human in the natural world in an ecologically friendly manner" (Chapple 1998, para. 6). Furthermore, Jainism, thought to have existed centuries before Hinduism, stipulates the transmigration of souls across living beings, which has implications for the dietary practices and way of life among its followers (Jayanthi 2001). In more recent history, Gandhi, also referred to as the father of the nation, endorsed and practiced the vegetarian way of life as he believed that "spiritual progress does demand at some stage that we should cease to kill our fellow creatures for the satisfaction of our bodily wants" (DeFranza 2009, para. 1).

Therefore, while many, today, may find the novel consumer culture appealing, there is still attachment to the age-old traditions of preservation and balance (Majumdar 2010). This may explain why the Indian consumer is attempting to adjust to the changing landscape by using "the power of tradition to conquer challenges of modernity" (Sinha 2011, p. 18). This has been discussed in more detail in the next chapter - Chapter 2 (Literature Review).

1.4 Social and environmental responsibility in India

During the 1950s and 1960s, several Indian businesses adopted the 'Gandhian' principle of corporate trusteeship (Arora & Puranik 2004), which advocated that industrialists have a responsibility towards the community and ought to "act as stewards to manage resources on behalf of societal good" (White 2008, p. 8). In fact, the concept of corporate social responsibility in India can be traced further back to its ancient Vedic literature (Muniapan & Dass 2008). However, today, it seems such philosophies have been disregarded given the corruption across many of India's public and private institutions. Growing concerns about social and environmental problems (Guha 2013) has resulted in an empowered and educated young middle-class calling for change (Abdoolcarim 2014; Mahr 2014). Hence, in view of the changing consciousness, now might be the right time to explore potential opportunity for a concept like ethical foods, given that it offers some solutions to the wider social and environmental concerns that exist within the country today.

1.5 Food preferences in India

Despite the growth of fast foods in India, home cooked food still remains as the first choice among many urban consumers (Goyal & Singh 2007). It seems that food safety scandals and awareness of health-related issues may have influenced these attitudes while also creating a market for organic foods in India. In fact, when it comes to purchasing organic foods, a consumer study indicated that the health-related motivation was the biggest driver (Chakrabarti 2010). When it comes to green products, it seems that urban Indians have expressed interest in purchasing them but also require more information on how choosing such products will benefit the environment (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011). Hence, there is a need to explore these attitudes in greater detail, and this has also been discussed in the next section of this chapter.

1.6 Justification for the study

The principles behind many modern methods of ecological sustainability are found to be present in ancient Indian literature (Sharma, Aggarwal & Kumar 2014). Given the role these ancient beliefs and teachings have had in shaping Indian culture and tradition, it raises the question as to how these might have also influenced current attitudes towards ethical foods and ethical consumerism, which advocate similar philosophies of respect and regard for the environment. Furthermore today, under a new political leadership, there is a renewed sense of hope for the future (Mahr 2014) as recent news articles such as 'India's youth hasn't inherited the fear of its previous generation' (2013, para. 14) highlight the determined optimism of India's young to create change. Hence, it is also worth exploring if such optimism may also extend

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towards a concept like ethical foods which reflects several of the things that a young new India wants i.e. a better quality of life and inclusion for all. As disposable incomes rise, the middle class sets the reference for social change as success is often measured in terms of how the "aam admi" (the common man) has benefitted (Mathur 2010, p. 212). Therefore, by focusing on a segment that defines the urban Indian consumer, this study proposes to offer an initial understanding of the potential and opportunity for a concept like ethical foods in India.

1.7 Research Method

This is a qualitative exploratory study that used the grounded research approach. This methodology is similar to grounded theory as it consisted of systematic, but flexible, guidelines for conducting inductive qualitative inquiry (Charmaz & Bryant 2008). The difference is that, with grounded research, the interview schedule required some functional and researcher-directed questions (Whiteley 2004), especially since the topic of ethical foods is fairly new in India. This meant that some questions on new concepts, such as fair trade and animal welfare foods, required guidance from the researcher in order to achieve meaningful data (Whiteley 2004). Other factors, such as an iterative study design, analysis and adaptations of the data collection process, were kept in line with the process of grounded theory (British Medical Journal 2008).

This study comprised three main phases: the triangulation of data sources which was on going throughout the duration of this study, pilot interviews and finally the main data collection phase, done through focus groups in India. An exploratory approach was used where, through interpretive orientation, it aimed to explore the world from the

individual's point of view where no perspective was right or wrong and more than one reality could exist (Norum 2008).

The focus groups were conducted in Gurgaon and included females and males from the Hindu and Muslim faiths, which represent two of India's largest religions (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). The study focused on understanding how participants defined ethical foods, their attitudes towards foods that offered social and environmental benefits and what might have shaped their attitudes. As participants viewed ethical foods through the lens of different cultures and value systems, there was an "emphasis on capturing and honouring multiple perspectives" as part of the social constructivist inquiry (Patton 2002, p. 102). These, and other details on the research methodology, have been covered in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology).

1.8 Assumptions in this study

A key assumption is that the findings from this study may be reflective of the attitudes of urban India when, in fact, it is worth noting that India's cultural diversity means that there are actually many different Indias (Kumar 2009). Geographically, India can be classified into 4 major regions, and each has their peculiarities related to food and culture (Majumdar 2010). Hence, although the study was conducted in Gurgaon, in North India, the cultural and religious diversity might mean there could be many interpretations of the term 'ethical foods' than what has been covered by this research. The implications and future directions have been discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters of this study.

1.9 Limitations and scope

A summary of limitations of this study is as follows:

1. As discussed in the previous section, the fieldwork for this study was done in just one Indian city due to limitations in cost and time. Therefore, data gathered from residents across different Indian regions may have produced more diverse interpretations, perceptions and attitudes relating to ethical foods than what was covered in this study.

2. The two major religious groups covered in this research were Hindus, who form the majority of India's population (80.5%), and Muslims who form the second largest group (13.5%) (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). However, there are numerous sects within Hinduism and each has their own cultural beliefs and practices. These variations were not covered in a lot of detail in this study. Furthermore, although certain cultures are a minority, these cultures have had tremendous social influence on India. For example, the Parsi community was at the forefront of India's industrial revolution and many are notable public figures today (Hinnells & Williams 2007). Hence, getting the views of prominent minority groups may have added greater diversity to the research findings.

3. The research included certain segments from within India's diverse middle-class. Based on the Indian socio-economic standard of classification (SEC), these segments included SEC A2, A3 and B (The Market Research Society of India 2011) as they are considered to be the "upwardly mobile" segments (Bijapurkar 2009, para. 5). Hence, by largely including the middle and upper-middle classes, as opposed to the lower-middle classes, this study represents a sub-segment of the broader middle-class spectrum.

1.10 Ethical issues

Before commencement, each participant was informed of the purpose of this study and was included in the study based upon their voluntary consent. The research protocols for the study were submitted to and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Curtin University. More details relating to this have been covered in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology).

1.11 Chapter outline of thesis

The chapters contained in this thesis are as follows:

Chapters	Brief description
Chapter 1 - Introduction	An introduction to the research and significance of this study.
Chapter 2 – Literature Review	Review of the current literature which has helped inform the purpose and direction for this study.
Chapter 3 – Research Methodology	The methodological process used for data collection and the rationale.
Chapter 4 – Research Findings	The findings obtained from the data collection.
Chapter 5 - Discussion	A discussion of the findings, implications and possible directions for the future.
Chapter 6 – Considerations & Future Directions	An overview of the key findings, significance of this study, limitations and future research directions.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

"Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing." – Arundhati Roy

This chapter provides a review of the existing literature on sustainability and the ethical consumer, in general, along with information on demographics, cultural attitudes and social trends in India. The chapter begins with a general overview of sustainability before delving specifically into the socio-cultural landscape of India. Given there is limited information on the topic of ethical consumerism in India, it is necessary to consider relevant macro and micro trends, within the country, as these might shed some light on the relevance and potential of such a concept. After all, knowledge is not necessarily limited to observable phenomena but may encompass a deeper reality where understanding of language and human society is important, especially where empirical observation may not be possible (Sumner 2006). In view of the sparse literature on the subject of ethical foods in India, triangulation would be considered useful for "enriching and completing knowledge and towards transgressing the (always limited) epistemological potential of the individual method" (Flick 2009, p. 444). Hence, the sources for this literature review comprised books, journals and different media, such as newspapers, magazines, documentaries, websites and channels of popular contemporary culture, as these can be considered as a route to additional knowledge (Flick 2006).

2.1 Perspectives on sustainability

The term 'sustainability' is used across a variety of contexts as common phrases associated with it include "'sustainable development', 'sustainable societies', 'sustainable communities', 'ecological sustainability', 'sustainable growth', and 'strategic sustainability'; each use has its own flavour, placing a slight emphasis on one or another aspect of the concept" (Vos 2007, p. 335). Furthermore, sustainability is an "evolving process in which social and political institutions continuously adapt to changes in scientific knowledge, social values, and ethical concerns" (Harrison 2000, p. 8). This section highlights how the perception and purposes relating to sustainability have changed over time while also discussing various contexts in which it is defined. In addition, the notion of ethical consumerism, which is the intentional purchase and consumption of products that attempt to minimise the exploitation of the ecosystem (Mohr et al. 2001), seems inextricably linked to the concept of sustainability. Hence, a review of this topic would also pave the way for related topics covered later in this chapter.

The concept of sustainability gained prominence in the 1960s given public concerns about environmental degradation, caused by poor resource management (McKenzie 2004). During this period, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) proposed the following objective - "to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2001 p. 3). However, in 1972, the concept 'Limits to Growth' indicated that the earth's natural resources are depletable and finite, and hence it was necessary for

"profound […] technological, cultural and institutional change in order to avoid an increase in the ecological footprint of humanity beyond the carrying capacity of planet Earth" (Meadows, Randers & Meadows 2005, p. x). A decade later, in 1987, a report, from the World Commission on Environment and Development, seemed to take into account the issue of finite and depletable natural resources as it defined sustainable development as that which met "the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations 1987, p. 1). During the same time, in 1980, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) highlighted the need "to maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems (such as soil regeneration and protection, the recycling of nutrients, and the cleansing of waters), on which human survival and development depend" (International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources 1980, p. VI).

More recently, it is felt that "A proposed economic venture - be it the reestablishment of harvestable herds of native ungulates on the North American great plains or the creation of an agroforest in Thailand - should be deemed unworthy of undertaking not only if its costs exceed its benefits, but if it will compromise the health of the (relatively) macroscale ecosystems in which it is embedded" (Callicott & Mumford 1997, p. 36). As biologists and ecologists bring to our attention the impact of human activity upon the ecosystem, the term 'natural capitalism' has been gaining prominence as it defines natural resources, such as water, minerals and fuels, as well as living systems, such as rainforests, coral reefs and oceans, as our 'natural capital' (Hawken, Lovins & Lovins 1999). Furthermore, it highlights the immeasurable value that nature provides, given it is both a 'source' for raw materials

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and a 'sink' that processes environmental pollutants (Vos 2007, p. 336). Hence, "Since the flow of services from ecosystems requires that they function essentially as whole systems, the structure and biodiversity of the ecosystem is a critical component in the natural capital" (Costanza, Cumberland, Daly, Goodland & Norgaard 1997, p. 107).

Over time, both economic as well as social sustainability are increasingly being viewed as important factors in the sustainability equation (McKenzie 2004). The Social Sustainability Assessment Framework, a tool designed for the community services sector, and developed by the Western Australian Council of Social Service (WACOSS), comprises these five dimensions: social equity; diversity of people, freedom of expression; quality of life; interconnectedness and social inclusion; democracy and governance (Western Australian Council of Social Service 2011). Another concept that seems to closely reflect this is 'social capital' because it "captures the idea that social bonds and social norms are an important part of the basis for sustainable livelihoods" (Pretty & Ward 2001, p. 210).

The 'triple bottom line' - comprising people, planet and profit - highlights another recent perspective on sustainability that takes ecological, economic and social factors into account. It was developed by economist John Elkington, in 1994, who proposed that it is not possible to achieve the desired level of economic, social or ecological sustainability without simultaneously achieving at least a basic level of all three forms of sustainability ('Triple bottom line' 2009). These elements have been commonly represented as 'triangle' or as overlapping circles in a Venn diagram, signifying a balanced scorecard - a concept that is also gaining popularity among businesses today (Savitz & Weber

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2006). Similar to the concept of people, planet and profit, is Barbier's perspective of an interaction between biological, economic and social systems. However, Barbier (1987, p. 104) also points out that sustainable development would involve trade-offs across these three systems and, hence, this process must be "adaptive, for as individual preferences, social norms, ecological conditions, etc., change over time, so must the relative weights attached to the various goals." As the importance attached to these goals change over time and as the definitions of sustainability evolve, it might be worth keeping this guiding principle as constant - "Leave the world better than you found it, take no more than you need, try not to harm life or the environment, make amends if you do" (Hawken 1983, p. 139).

2.2 The relevance and need for sustainability

Having broadly discussed definitions and contexts relating to sustainability, it is equally important to consider its relevance in present day society, particularly given that today there is "no longer any serious scientific dispute that the decline in every living system in the world is reaching such levels that an increasing number of them are starting to lose […] their assured ability to sustain the continuity of the life process" (Hawken et al. 1999, p. 4). In fact, when comparing today's challenges to those experienced during the Industrial Revolution, it seems the "hazards in those days assaulted the nose or the eyes and were thus perceptible to the senses, while the risks of civilization today typically *escape perception* and are localized in the sphere of *physical and chemical formulas* (e.g. toxins in foodstuffs or the nuclear threat)" (Beck 1992, p. 21). Furthermore, the largely unknown and unforeseeable consequences

of our actions upon the environment are concerning. Giddens (2002) indicates that contemporary society is moving away from a world of calculable risks to one that is out of control i.e.: a 'Runaway World' as the risks of eco-imbalances and social inequalities, which arise from our own intervention, cannot be calculated and the consequences are beyond human perception.

However, that said, there is still the assumption that economic accumulation today could, somehow, compensate for future challenges that may arise from resource depletion (Ehrlich 1989; Vos 2007) and that technology and human ingenuity could create substitutes for depleted natural resources (Vos 2007). Hence, by placing ourselves above the biosphere, we have, ironically, encouraged our own institutions to behave in ways that will ultimately destroy our own life-support systems (Gladwin, Kennelly & Krause 1995; Hartmann 1999). In fact, the "The fall of the Roman Empire, and the equally (if not more) advanced Han, Mauryan, and Gupta Empires, as well as so many advanced Mesopotamian Empires, are all testimony to the fact that advanced, sophisticated, complex, and creative civilizations can be both fragile and impermanent" – as indicated by a study on factors contributing to the downfall of civilisations in history (Ahmed 2014, para. 4). Furthermore, this study also identified similarities between these civilisations and present day resource exploitation, consumption imbalances and the formation of "Elite wealth monopolies" (Ahmed 2014, para. 12). This is also reflective of the imbalanced growth occurring in emerging markets like India where, today, the nation's wealthiest, who form just 10% of the population, are also the biggest beneficiaries of growth while significant socio-environmental damage that is occurring as a side-effect is being largely ignored (Kothari 2013). Furthermore, the looming consequences

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of such phenomena tend to be compounded for poorer nations given their likely inability to "spend their way" out of environmental problems such as rising sea levels, diseases and droughts (Vos 2007, p. 337).

One of the reasons for our predicament today can attributed to the traditional economist's view of the world because "All one need (sic) do is to look at the circular flow diagram that "explains" the generation of gross national product in any standard economics test. There are no inputs into the circular flow; it is simply a diagram of a perpetual motion machine - an impossibility except in the minds of economists" (Ehrlich 1989, pp. 9-10). Furthermore, the traditional science tends to measure impacts of ecological damage, overpopulation and social inequalities in economic, quantifiable terms when actually these are indicators of our spiritual degradation as well (Ben-Eli 2007; Stanley & Loy 2011). In addition, as "the obvious material need […] rules the thought and action of people" (Beck 1992, p. 20), this may also be attributed to man's evolutionary makeup where "our nervous system evolved to select a small extract of reality and to ignore the rest" which means we tend to focus on factors which pose immediate threats rather than on long term consequences (Ornstein & Ehrlich 2000, p. 4). Similarly, there is concern about present generations being likely to pursue their own needs and interests at the expense of the future generations (Vos 2007) thereby "squandering a one-time inheritance" (Ehrlich 1989, p. 10).

When examining the present day environmental deterioration from a cultural perspective, Hartmann (1999) claims this can be attributed to a shift away from an 'older cultures' orientation towards a 'younger cultures' orientation. The 'younger cultures' are not defined by age but by a mindset as they feel "All of nature is here to serve the needs of

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humankind" while, on other hand, 'older cultures' are of the view that human beings are no more or less important to the planet than any other life-forms (Hartmann 1999, p. 122). Further to this point, it has also been argued by eco-feminists that the values of patriarchy, which emphasise such dominance, hierarchy and dualistic thinking, have been partially responsible for this egocentric perspective (Koger & Winter 2010). Either way, "the fetish of limitless economic growth" seems to have created a society that cannot stop to truly question where it is actually heading (Stanley & Loy 2011, para. 2) as society today appears to be plagued by a term known as "affluenza", an obsessive addiction to materialistic consumption (De Graaf, Wann & Naylor 2003). Ironically, such overconsumption and materialistic pursuit "bears relatively little relationship to our well-being, beyond ensuring sufficient food, shelter, and clothing to survive" and, hence, does not only adversely impact our environment but also the human psyche (Kasser 2002, p. 4).

Today, we are turning back to some of these 'older cultures' for answers on sustainable living. Some examples include the 'Korowai' tribe in Indonesia who have demonstrated significant resourcefulness when it comes to living in the natural environment ('Sustainable living - Korowai tribe and tree houses' 2011) as well as other indigenous tribes of America, Australia and early Asia who "did not overpopulate or destroy their world, even though in most cases they had access to far more resources than they used" (Hartmann 1999, pp. 2-3). In view of the present day circumstances and the implications, Milbrath (1989, p. 140) proposes the idea of a council or guardianship for future generations because, after all, the "essence of democracy is the provision of some regularized societal procedure for consulting people about policies and the future direction that their society should take."

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2.3 An overview of the ethical consumer

Having broadly highlighted the importance and relevance of sustainability, this section narrows its focus to a review of the ethical consumer. It is said that the concept of environmentalism and ethical consumerism are closely linked as "ethical consumerism is generally accepted as being borne out of the environmental movement and green consumerism" (Freestone & McGoldrick 2008, p. 446). The term 'ethical consumption' came into prominence during the last quarter of the 20th century (Harrison, Newholm & Shaw 2005) as did an 'environmentally-aware' consumer who is "challenging manufacturers and retailers to guarantee the ethical claims they make about their products" (Strong 1996, p. 7). Since then, the concept of ethical consumerism has evolved over the last quarter of a decade "from an almost exclusive focus on environmental issues to a concept that incorporates matters of conscience more broadly, only to return to its "green" roots with recent concerns about global climate change" (Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2010, p. 1).

Factors contributing to the emergence of the ethical consumer include increasing media coverage of environmental issues (Roberts 1996); the rapid rise of NGOs and lobbyists, particularly between 1981 and 1992 (Strong 1996) and, more recently, the social and environmental consequences of technological advancement, globalisation of markets and a shift in market power towards the consumer (Harrison et al. 2005). Freed from their basic needs, consumers, particularly in affluent societies, feel responsible for their behaviour and aim to achieve their desired social ends through economic voting (Dickinson & Hollander 1991) as there is a growing percentage who claim to be swayed towards products that offer social and environmental benefits (Devinney et al. 2010).

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Drawing upon Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Brooker (1976) found that the socially conscious consumer tended to score more highly on 'self-actualisation'. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, self-actualisation can be defined as "to realise fully one's potential" (Merriam-Webster 2014). However, it is also worth noting that consumers may attempt to self-actualise, or realise their potential, through hedonistic consumption as much as through ethical consumption (Harrison et al., 2005). Therefore, while consumers may deem their consumption as 'ethical', it is actually a multifaceted activity, with consumers behaving in different ways at different times as each has their own opinion on what being 'ethical' actually means (Harrison et al., 2005). Hence, this also may be why consumers may claim to value ethical products when, actually, their behaviour in the marketplace may not always reflect their reported attitudes (Auger & Devinney 2007).

When it comes to understanding ethical consumption, socio-demographics, as a variable, is not a reliable predictor as such behaviour is said to vary based upon the consumption context (Devinney et al. 2010). From a motivational perspective, Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt (2011, p. 2) have indicated that, in response to green behaviours, some consumers may feel that "I cannot do anything, so why bother thinking about it?" This highlights the importance of 'perceived consumer effectiveness', which refers to "whether what we do as individuals makes a difference", as this tends to be a significant psychographic predictor of pro-environmental behaviour (Straughan & Roberts 1999, p. 574). It would also seem that one's intrinsic motivations, "defined as the innate tendency to engage in an activity for the sole pleasure and satisfaction derived from its practice", is effective in producing pro-environmental behaviours (Pelletier, Green-Demers, Tuson, Noels & Beaton 1998, p.

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441). Intrinsic motivations include one's own personal norms, or sense of right and wrong, which can motivate one to buy free-range foods or energy saving products (Koger & Winter 2010).

On the other hand, externally motivated influences, such as social norms or the perception of socially approved behaviours, can also have some impact on ethically oriented behaviour (Cialdini 2003). One example is the influence of reference groups when it comes to encouraging behaviours such as purchasing pro-environmental products or minimising the use of natural resources (Flynn & Goldsmith 1994). In addition, during the early stages of consumer decision-making, it is said that companies could also progress consumers towards greater ethical action with "a campaign stressing the social benefit of purchasing products from firms concerned with ethical issues, or studies highlighting which companies have high ethical principles" (Freestone & McGoldrick 2008, p. 462) as many consumers may feel that such information, on the social and environmental benefits of products, ought to come from "companies themselves" (Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2011, p. 2).

Besides motivation, ethical consumption may also be reflective of the individual's values (Weeden 2013) as the value of 'Universalism', defined as the tolerance and protection for the welfare of people and nature (Schwartz 1994), is found to be most closely associated with ethical decision-making (Shaw, Grehan, Shiu, Hassan & Thomson, 2005; Pepper, Jackson & Uzzell 2009; Weeden 2013). In addition, Stern & Dietz (1994) have identified three value orientations - egoistic, altruistic and biospheric values. While egoistic value orientations "predispose people to protect aspects of the environment that affect them personally" (Stern & Dietz 1994, p. 70), altruistic orientations favour behaviours

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based on "benefits for a human group" (Stern & Dietz 1994, p. 70) and biospeheric orientations lean towards wider "benefits to ecosystems or the biosphere" (Stern & Dietz 1994, p. 70). Out of these biospheric values, or the ability to empathise with causes beyond one's immediate sphere of relevance, tend to be most strongly associated with pro-environmental behaviours (Koger & Winter 2010).

2.4 An overview of the ethically oriented consumer in emerging markets

To date, most literature on ethical behaviour relates to consumers in developed markets with relatively little information on emerging markets. However, over the last few years, some sources indicate an increase in green and ethical behaviours among consumers in these markets. For example, National Geographic's 'Greendex' study, comprising approximately 1,000 respondents across 17 countries, revealed that Indian, Chinese and Brazilian consumers have the top Greendex ranking scores when compared to consumers in developed markets (National Geographic 2012). However, upon closer examination, it was felt that "anyone with experience of walking the streets of Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing, Delhi, Mumbai, Mexico City, or São Paulo would find these results somewhat suspect" because many in these countries have a lower capacity to purchase environmentally damaging products (such as cars) and, hence, by default, rank more highly on sustainable behaviours (Devinney et al. 2010 p. 38). That said, it seems certain socio-cultural habits would make consumers in some of these markets more naturally pre-disposed towards sustainable behaviours. For example, a key reason why India topped the Greendex ranking scores was simply

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because a large percentage of Indian consumers are vegetarian as more studies are revealing the hazardous environmental consequences that arise from livestock farming such as water contamination and greenhouse gas emissions (Quante 2013).

Besides just cultural habits, there also appears to be an increase in the consumer consciousness of such issues. A recent study, by GlobeScan, revealed that awareness of climate change and air pollution has resulted in an increasing number of Chinese and Indian consumers looking to buy low-emission and low-energy appliances (Guibeleguiet 2014). Furthermore, when it comes to ethical consumption, another study indicated that the "growing concern about ecological issues and fears for product safety are major drivers of ethical consumerism in Asia, which commenced in Japan, then spread to Singapore and has now spread to China, Taiwan, India and parts of Indonesia" (Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation 2012, p. 30).

As consumers become more conscious of their choices, product credibility or 'credence' is increasingly being recognised as a source of differentiation (Cuthbertson & Marks 2008). Similarly, the goodpurpose® global study, conducted across 16 countries with 8,000 respondents, has also indicated that 'Purpose' is gradually being seen as the 5th P of marketing as 'Profit + Purpose' is becoming the "New Normal" (Edelmen 2012, p. 9). In this case, 'Purpose' mainly refers to social purpose where a company's actions are judged based upon positive outcomes for the wider community (Edelmen 2012). In addition, Nielsen's study on 'Corporate Ethics and Fair Trading' indicated about 9 in 10 consumers in emerging markets expect that companies should engage in programs to protect the environment because, faced with their

countries' rapid industrialization, many are demonstrating concern and responsibility for the health for their local environments (Nielsen 2008).

When comparing ethical behaviour across countries, Belk, Devinney & Eckhart (2005, p. 278) quoting the findings of Auger, Devinney & Louviere in 2004, claimed that predicting this behaviour simply based on "observable characteristics", like age, gender or ethnicity, can be inaccurate because, actually, there are more differences among individuals within a single country than between countries when it comes to emphasising the importance of ethical issues like fair trade, recycling, animal testing and other issues. However, that said, culture tends to influence perceptions of what is "good or responsible consumption" (Belk, Devinney & Eckhart 2005, p. 279) as one's understanding of the term 'ethical consumption' may be culturally unique (Devinney et al. 2010). On this note, Burgess & Steenkamp (2006, p. 342) state that cultural values of 'Hierarchy' and 'Embeddedness' are emphasised in emerging markets whereas 'Egalitarianism' and 'Autonomy' tend to be more pronounced in developed societies. Therefore, conforming to tradition, for example, may be given importance in certain emerging collectivist societies whereas the importance placed upon one's own values and judgment would be given more emphasis in developed individualist societies (Schwartz 1990).

To understand the relevance of ethical consumption in emerging markets more holistically, there are other factors, beyond culture, that also need to be considered. These include living standards, access to resources, enforceable legal rights in the courts of law and stakeholder influence on corporate governance (Burgess & Steenkamp 2006). This would certainly the case in India where, among other factors, income is a

key driver of consumption because, in a country of 200 million households, only 14 million households have disposable incomes to spend beyond their basic necessities (McKinsey & Company 2008), although this figure is expected to rapidly rise in the coming years.

2.5 India: sustainability and ethics in India's history & culture

Having presented a review of ethical consumerism at a broad level, this section as well as subsequent sections in this chapter will focus, specifically, upon India. This section will cover the following:

- 2.5.1: Sustainability in India's cultural history
- 2.5.2: The 'Gandhian' influence in India
- 2.5.3: Corporate social responsibility and 'Jugaad' in modern India

2.5.1 Sustainability in India's cultural history

"Anybody studying India cannot take it on its face value. No amount of field work will yield important insights into India unless this is also accompanied by a cultural understanding" (Venkatesh 1994, para. 21). Culture does not just include "artifacts, tools, or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use, and perceive them" (Banks & Banks 2010, p. 8). Today, although about 80% of Indians are Hindus, the country is also home to several indigenous faiths and tribal religions, which have survived the influence of major religions for centuries, thereby also making the country culturally very diverse (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011).

The influence of Hinduism upon India's socio-cultural identity is evident in that "Hinduism, which is the primary religion of the country, is not an organized theological movement but represents a way of life that has evolved over many centuries" (Venkatesh 1994, para. 22). When looking back in history, it seems that many modern methods of ecological sustainability were present in ancient Indian literature as these highlighted a reverence for man's symbiotic relationship with nature (Sharma, Aggarwal & Kumar 2014). Furthermore, there are parallels between the modern day concept of corporate social responsibility and ancient Vedic literatures such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas (Muniapan & Dass 2008). The Vedic period advocated the importance of man's conservation of flora and fauna because they were considered living beings and hence to "cut and harm them unnecessarily or on a large scale was considered as sin" (Sharma et al. 2014, p. 71). Similarly, Hinduism, as a way of life, has always shown "the human in the natural world in an ecologically friendly manner" (Chapple 1998, para. 6). This might explain why Hindu imagery depicts the power of the natural world – "earth *(bhu),* the atmosphere *(bhuvah),* and sky *(sva),* as well as the goddess associated with the earth *(Prthivi),* and the gods associated with water *(Ap),* with fire and heat *(Agni),* and the wind *(Vayu)"* – all of which seem to suggest an underlying environmental sensitivity within the Hindu philosophy (Chapple 1998, para. 3).

Jainism, which existed centuries before Hinduism, is thought to have had a profound influence on religions that arose later (Jayanthi, 2001). One of the fundamental practices of Jains is to "live in a way that minimises their use of the world's resources" ('Jainism at a glance' 2009, p. 1). In fact, it can be said that the 'Jainas' hold an affinity for the principles of the environmental movement because they advocate

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interrelatedness among all forms of life – "A man should wander about treating all creatures as he himself would be treated. Inflicting an injury to other beings is inflicting injury to oneself" (Sharma et al., 2014, p. 72). Similarly, Buddhism, another philosophy and way of life that began in ancient India (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011), stated that all beings exist by their interrelationship with other parts of nature (Sharma et al., 2014). Furthermore, the overlap between Buddhist teachings and the modern day principles of sustainability is evident in that "As we do unto others, so it's done to us" (Samuel 2010).

Besides the influence of religion, there are other traditional icons and practices, which characterise India, that also reflect the key philosophies of contemporary sustainability. One significant example is the Brahmin social caste – which sits at the top of the caste hierarchy – which wielded significant socio-cultural influence in India over centuries (Sinha 2011). Their core beliefs encompassed valuing "things cerebral over things material" (Sinha 2011, p. 6) as they "sought to be a part of the larger whole and abstained from things that could break fragile social equations" (Sinha 2011, p. 6). Another example is the practice of 'Ayurveda', meaning 'science of life', which is a 5,000 year old system of Indian medicine, that focused on a healthy lifestyle rather than simply the management and treatment of diseases ('History of Ayurveda' 2011). In fact, the foundational pillar of the concept of 'Ayurveda' was based upon creating balance between man and his environment as it advocated that "the process of life is in constant state of flux and not in static condition and that in this dynamic process a continual adjustment with the environment is necessary for health and well being" (Pushpangandan, Sharma & Kaur 1987, pp. 2-3). 'Ayurveda' continues to be widely

practiced in India as 'Ayurvedic' hospitals still exist alongside those that offer modern medical treatments (Krishnan 2014).

When it came to India's ancient cities, enlightened rulers from the Mauryan dynasty emphasised that "buildings, roads, commercials, cremation grounds etc. ought to be constructed in such a way that it cannot harm the ecology and doesn't have negative effect on biodiversity" (Sharma et al 2014, p. 72). In addition, the architectural concept of 'Vaastu Shastra' advocated the concept of building designs that were "ecologically balanced" with its inhabitants (Patra 2009, p. 247). In fact, this concept goes beyond just sustainable design as it states that a "dwelling is an ecological unit, a microcosm that reflects the macrocosm" (Patra (2009, p. 247) and that the human body, the building and universe are inherently interlinked through "the materials of the Vaastu', known as earth, water, air, sun and space" (Patra 2009, p. 247).

2.5.2 The 'Gandhian' influence in India

It seems that the 'Gandhian' philosophy incorporated some of these ancient cultural beliefs and practices because, although Gandhi advocated simple living in harmony with the environment, he actually lived well before the advent of the modern day environmentalist movement (Weber 1999). His teachings and way of life has had a profound effect on shaping India's identity as an independent nation and, therefore, it is important to understand his stance on the concept of ethics and environmentalism as these may shed further light into prevailing fabric of cultural knowledge.

On the subject of ethics, excerpts taken from Gandhi's book, 'Ethical Religion', originally written in his native language, reflect some of the modern day discourse on ethical actions and outcomes:

- "an ethical idea is useless so long as it is not followed by suitable action. There are many who memorize moral precepts and preach sermons, but they neither practice them nor do they mean to do so" (Mishra 2010, p. 27).

- "In the path of morality there is no such thing as reward for moral behaviour. If a man does some good deed, he must not do it to win applause, he must do it because he must" (Mishra 2010, p. 27).

Gandhi's beliefs "based on truth and non-violence, simple life style, and development reveal how sustainable development is possible without doing any harm to nature and our fellow beings" (Sasikila 2012, p. 54). Furthermore, on the subject of peace research, Weber (1999, p. 350) indicates that although Gandhi's influence had only merely touched certain areas of it, "the literature is commonly quite 'Gandhian' in its approach." This is because his concept of nonviolence meant more than just the absence of violence, instead it emphasised "non-injury in thought, word and deed" (Sasikila 2012, p.55). In fact, Gandhi most likely borrowed from the ancient Buddhist principle of 'Ahimsa', meaning respect for all forms of life to create his own philosophy ('Mohandas 'Mahatma' Gandhi' 2009) and this also appears to be reflected in his views towards animal welfare i.e. "The greatness of a nation and its moral progress can be judged by the way its animals are treated" (Singer 2011, para. 1) and that "spiritual progress does demand at some stage that we should cease to kill our fellow creatures for the satisfaction of our bodily wants" (Hill 1996, p. 184).

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Today, if we were to juxtapose the values of modern India with 'Gandhian values', the following question is worth considering - "How is a man who believed in the supremacy of the village, who berated the advent of the industrial revolution, was suspicious of the automobile and renounced material possessions ever to be made to feel relevant in a modern India, which is the world's fastest growing cellular phone market, in the grips of a manufacturing boom, worships the car and is witnessing a rush from the countryside to the booming cities?" (Gentleman 2006, para. 22). That said, it is also worth highlighting that "While Gandhi did not rule out alternative forms of modernity […] these were acceptable to him only if they did not subvert the ethical and spiritual self" (Chimni 2012, p. 1162). Furthermore, Gandhi also cautioned against the dangers of creating "a hierarchical relationship among men as well as between men and nature" (Sasikila 2012, p. 59) because "Co-operation, he argued, not competition, is the natural state of mankind" (Balch 2013, para. 7).

2.5.3 Corporate social responsibility and 'Jugaad'

The 'Gandhian' perspective, as discussed in the previous section, underpins some of the corporate philosophies adopted, later, by Indian businesses, post the country's independence. A report, from non-profit organisation Business for Social Responsibility (BSR), indicates that a decade or two after independence, Indian businesses began to embrace the 'Gandhian' philosophy of 'trusteeship' and saw themselves as "capitalists with an opportunity to act as stewards to manage resources on behalf of societal good" (White 2008, p. 8). Today, this "communitarian dimension continues to play a role" (White 2008, p. 9).

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That said, CSR in India tends to focus on "*what* is done with profits *after* they are made" while sustainability considers the social and environmental impacts of the business itself and, hence, CSR can be deemed as a smaller part of the larger picture (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013, p. 7). Recently, the 'Companies Act', introduced by the government in 2013, mandated that all mid-sized and large Indian companies must spend 2% of their three-year annual average profit on ten major areas of development (Gupta 2014), some of which include addressing poverty, promoting education and empowering women (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013). A recent newspaper article titled 'Forbes India honours 11 influential people at Philanthropy Awards' (2013, para. 7) indicated that many Indian entrepreneurs have welcomed this Act as "an opportunity to make social impact", particularly in a nation teeming with problems related to illiteracy, the lack of access to adequate health facilities and abject poverty (Ghullani 2013).

Ironically, it is also these social and environmental challenges that have spurred an ingenious new initiative within India, which is also gaining popularity worldwide. It is known as 'Jugaad', which means 'doing more with less', and borrows from the 'Gandhian' principles of waste minimisation (Radjou, Prabhu & Ahuja 2012). In summary, it focuses on creating product innovation through the use of limited resources (Radjou, Prabhu & Ahuja 2012) and has also paved the way for global businesses, seeking to invest in socially beneficial ventures in emerging markets (Simanis & Duke 2014). Some examples of 'Jugaad' include products like 'Embrace', a portable infant warmer for premature babies in rural India whose families do not have access to regular electricity, and which is sold at a fraction of the cost of similar products elsewhere (Radjou et al., 2012, p. 68); 'MittiCool', a fridge made of clay

that consumes no electricity and has encouraged environmental and economic sustainability among rural communities (Radjou et al., 2012, pp. 3-4); 'SELCO' which employs a grassroots network of micro-entrepreneurs to install and service solar lighting systems rented to over 125,000 rural households (Radjou et al., 2012, p. 89).

A recent article titled 'Lessons In Sustainability From India's Entrepreneurs' lists examples of major Indian institutions that are about "self-reliance, looking to people instead of machines for solutions, thinking in whole systems, and embracing the Indian spirit of "jugaad"" (Ferris 2012, para. 3). These include the Reserve Bank of India's 'Human Bank Machines' who help thousands of remote Indian villages through travelling bank tellers; Asian Paints which produces no discharge and uses recycled water for all its major activities; the "Dabbawalla", a service, in Mumbai, which has created employment for more than 5,000 workers to deliver hot, homemade lunches to office goers, and has also been awarded a six-sigma efficiency rating by Forbes (Ferris 2012).

2.6 India: contemporary attitudes and consumption trends

Some of India's cultural beliefs, traditions and practices, as highlighted in the previous section, appear to lend themselves well to the ideology of ethical consumerism. However, to holistically explore the potential of such a concept in modern India, it is important to understand key contemporary attitudes and trends within the country. Hence, this section covers the following:

- 2.6.1: The changing face of the urban Indian consumer
- 2.6.2: The emerging 'other' India

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- 2.6.3: India's balance between tradition and modernity
- 2.6.4: The social revolution in India today

2.6.1 The changing face of the Indian urban consumer

Since its economic liberalisation in the 1990s, India has been undergoing rapid transformation in a relatively short time. Today, it is estimated there are 1.2 million households that sit at the top of the income pyramid while the poorer segments, at the bottom, make up a much larger number of more than 100 million households (Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania 2008). However, the real growth appears to be coming from the centre of this pyramid, which comprises 40 million middle-income households (Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania 2008). A report by the McKinsey Global Institute, in 2007, predicted that, during the years 2015 to 2025, the shape of the country's income pyramid will change dramatically as more than 290 million people will move from poverty to being first-time consumers (Ablett, Baijal, Beinhocker, Bose, Farrell, Gersch, Greenberg, Gupta & Gupta 2007) - a segment called the "Aspirant" class (Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania 2008, para. 8).

The 'Aspirant' class comprises the first generation migratory workers from rural areas who are "the engine of growth for low-priced brands/commodities in India" (Majumdar (2010, p. 339/5262). They have low levels of education, earn a mere Rs. 5,000 to 10,000 per month (AUD $85-$180 per month) but "hope for their children to lead a better quality of life" (Majumdar 2010, p. 338/5262). As the country moves away from its socialist ideals, "People's aspirations are shifting away from getting

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free doles towards getting employment and livelihood" (Mahr 2014, p. 14). In fact, the concept of the "middle-class merit" is equated with qualities such as ambition, conscientiousness and determination as several prominent public figures, who rose from humble beginnings, stand as the embodiment of these qualities (Sinha 2011, p. 20). Some examples include cricketer Sachin Tendulkar (Sinha 2011); Shah Rukh Khan, the Indian actor, who, in a recent newspaper article titled 'I didn't want to be poor' (2013, para. 1), discussed his struggles coming from a "lower-middle class family", only to later be named as the world's second highest paid actor after Hollywood's Jerry Seinfeld (Ellis-Peterson 2014); India's current prime minister Narendra Modi who started life as a poor tea seller (Rajghatta 2014).

Factors that have spurred these changes include: a burgeoning middle class, introduction of the credit system, increasing media proliferation, changing roles of women and the structure of the family, cross-cultural influences and the emergence of the rural consumer sector (Venkatesh 1994). It seems this economic transformation has also created a shift in the social mindset too as people are moving away from traditional 'Brahmin' values to now embracing those which embody "success, winning, glory, and heroism" (Sinha 2011, pp. 5-6). Hence, today, the stereotype of Indians being "deeply spiritual people who reject materialistic values" no longer reflects reality, as a growing number of urbanities have adopted a 'work hard and get rich' ethos (Gopal & Srinivasan 2006, para. 4). Conspicuous consumption has become a status symbol in itself, as India's new middle class is now a market for major brands ranging from fast food cuisine, clothes, accessories, films and music (Majumdar 2010; Mathur 2010; Sinha 2011). In particular, India's younger consumers, who have grown up after the 1990s, have vastly

different attitudes to their older counterparts where "austerity was considered a virtue and indulgence a sin" (Shashidhar 2007, para. 11).

2.6.2 The emerging 'other' India

Although the distribution across India's rural (70%) and urban (30%) populations reveals a large bias towards the former, urbanisation is increasing rapidly as only a few decades ago, in the 1960s, the distribution was approximately 85% rural and 15% urban (Venkatesh 1994). It is said that these semi-urban and rural regions are poised to power India's economic boom, in the coming years, with these markets comprising approximately 720 million consumers (Sinha 2011). Results from the Public Evaluation of Entitlement Programmes (PEEP) survey, conducted among India's poorest districts, indicated that "Not only have public facilities steadily expanded, people are also forming new expectations of them and demanding more" (Dreze & Khera 2014, p. 38). In addition, the wage and consumption gap, between rural and urban India, across the years 1983 and 2010, has considerably narrowed as has the gap in education levels (Hnatkovska & Lahiri 2013).

These changes have also resulted in a simultaneous transformation in the attitudes towards social castes, where there is now a "stridency in which backward castes and scheduled castes express their political views and preferences" (Gupta 2005, p. 753). However, unlike their urban counterparts who seem more willing to embrace new cultural ideologies, the small-town and rural youth seem less willing to let go of their cultural roots as they feel they are the true embodiment of Indian tradition, and that is the "only thing that sets them apart from their privileged counterparts in urban India" (Sinha 2011, p. 149). Hence, while there are

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signs of change, these are occurring relatively slower; as a recent newspaper article highlighted, rural attitudes towards unfamiliar culture still tend to be "reactionary, authoritarian and paranoid" (Das 2013, para. 4). For example, the "rural mind views with deep suspicion the spectacle of women with short hair, dressed in jeans and tops" as this is seen to represent the liberalisation of women and their freedom of expression, which is still viewed with negative ambivalence among the relatively conservative rural communities (Das 2013, para. 5).

2.6.3 India's balance between tradition and modernity

India is a blend of two middle-ground philosophies where it "has attempted to establish a [middle] position between Western and [communist] oriented states" (Buultjens 2014, para. 5). Despite the recent change in urban lifestyles and consumption habits, Kumar (2007) indicates the reality in India is a lot more complex as modernisation is not necessarily equal to Westernisation. In fact, it is said the Indian consumer is attempting to adjust to the changing landscape by using "the power of tradition to conquer challenges of modernity" (Sinha 2011, p. 18) and there is still strong attachment to familiar traditions as evident in the choice of brands (Majumdar 2010). Some examples include the 'Ruf and Tuf' jeans campaign where "modern youth reflects the cultural trait of respect for elders" (Majumdar 2010, p. 2989/5262) as well as the campaign for Bajaj scooters which encompasses a "blend of modern lifestyle and ethnic beliefs and reflects the positioning that most externally 'western-oriented' youngsters are still 'Indians at heart" (Majumdar 2010, p. 2988/5262).

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Today, urban India can, at best, be classified into 3 broad segments – 'The Partition Generation', 'The Transition Generation' and 'The No Strings Generation' (Sinha 2011). A summary of these is as follows:

- *The Partition Generation* – Aged 45-64 years, they lived through the struggle for independence and tend to possess an "inherent suspicion of the system […] a fear that something will go wrong, something will give way" and, as consumers, they strongly prefer rituals and traditions they are familiar with (Sinha 2011, pp. 165-166).

- *The Transition Generation* – They are aged 25-44 years and appear to be shedding their consumption inhibitions but still "want to nourish the practices of yesterday with the resources of today. They want to celebrate their traditions and festivals on a larger scale, with more lights, more colours, and better clothes" (Sinha 2011, p. 173).

- *The No Strings Generation* – Aged 15-24 years, they are described as living in the moment and seeking enjoyment. Unlike the Partition Generation, which seeks stability, this generation seeks experimentation, "thrives on discontinuity and finds stability boring" (Sinha 2011, p. 176).

A recent newspaper article has indicated that today "we are living in two Indias - one that belongs to the older generation and in some ways is seen as regressive; and the other that belongs to the young and is its exact opposite" ('India's youth hasn't inherited the fear of its previous generation' 2013, para. 8). Another article, 'The modern vs the traditional: Youth fail to bridge the gap' (2013, para. 2), highlights how even among urbanites of the same generation, modernity has resulted in a social chasm where the "group that is more liberal tends to keep the other

out of its radar completely and fails to understand them, the other group often reacts in a hostile manner to the progressive lifestyle."

2.6.4 The social revolution in India today

Despite the promise of socio-economic change in India, it seems the country has stopped short of fully realising its potential (Abdoolcarim 2014, p. 4). Rampant corruption, among other things, has resulted in major food scams that make headlines at least once a year. A recent one in 2011, termed as 'the mother of all scams', included large quantities of food grains, meant to be distributed to the poor under welfare schemes, that were stolen by the state and sold on the open market (Pandey 2011). In January 2012, 50 out of 71 diary milk samples, that were randomly tested in Delhi, were found to be contaminated with glucose and skim milk powder, in order to enhance volumes and, worse still, elsewhere across the country, milk was found to be diluted with detergent, fat and even urea (Sinha 2012). One that occurred more recently, in 2013, included the deaths of 23 young children after their lunch at school was found to be tainted with "deadly pesticides" (Jolley 2013, para. 4).

These issues have prompted such questions from the masses, frustrated with a system that has failed to deliver - "What happens to our taxes after we pay them?" (*Kings Everyday* 2014, para. 3). Recent news stories have also highlighted how India's young have a "burning desire" to improve their circumstances ('India's youth hasn't inherited the fear of its previous generation' 2013, para. 14) as the common sentiment appears to be "We're mad as hell, and we're not going to take it anymore" (Mahr 2014, p. 8). The recent crushing defeat of the incumbent political party, for the first time in over a decade, in the national elections was a strong

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indication of the need for change as it was said that "The world's largest democracy makes a statement at the polls: No to corruption, bureaucracy and dynastic politics" (Anand & Fairclough 2014, p. 1).

However, given India's size and complexities, it also means that any major transformation "can only take place in fits and starts" (Mahr 2014, p.12) as large numbers are still threatened with land displacements because companies, in their quest for growth, continue "grabbing the land, clearing forests, damming rivers, guzzling groundwater" while the state tends to side with the powerful elite (Dreze & Khera 2014, p. 50). Therefore, India's need to balance its progress with a socio-ecological sustainability is vital because otherwise the "economics is not morally justifiable if it fails to ensure equity" (Mishra 2014, para. 9).

2.7 India: Green products and ethical consumption

Having provided some background context on key demographics, consumption trends and the social psyche within India, this final section will review attitudes relating to green products and ethical consumerism along with cultural associations related to these and the potential relevance of such concepts within India today.

To begin with, a recent study of urban Indian and rural attitudes, towards socially responsible consumer behaviour (SRCB), revealed that the urbanities were more positively pre-disposed towards SRCB in comparison to their rural counterparts (Singh 2009). Furthermore, age was inversely related to SRCB, meaning urbanities under the age of 30 were more positive towards SRCB than the older segments as the latter felt that "job and time pressure" made them less likely to analyse their

consumption decisions, over and above their immediate priorities (Singh 2009, p. 205). Similar findings were also revealed in another study, which examined attitudes among urban residents towards green marketing, and found that older consumers demonstrated less favourable attitudes towards green products (Gupta & Abbas 2013).

Overall, environmentally-friendly products represent a significant market opportunity within India today (Jain & Kaur 2004) but, despite the expressed consumer interest, the general lack of awareness and availability of such products are key barriers to usage (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012). It is said that consumers in India want "clear information about how choosing one product over another will benefit the environment" (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011, p. 12) and that companies "must explain not only their own products but also the larger issues of pollution, climate change, overfishing and other environmental problems" (Gill 2012, p. 9). In addition, the government must also step up on informing the public about environmental issues (Mahapatra 2013). Furthermore, given concerns about corruption and transparency within the system, "of crucial importance here will be the development of governmental regulation of corporate disclosure, environmental claims and general information availability" (Gill 2012, p. 9).

When considering differences across India's socio-economic groups, it seems that income levels are negatively correlated with green attitudes as "more the income", the "less favourable" are attitudes of consumers towards green products (Gupta & Abbas 2013, p. 484). Singh's study in 2009 also revealed similar findings of a reverse relationship between the two variables, although it is worth noting that the lower income segment also comprised a larger number of younger

respondents i.e. students and those who had recently entered the workforce, which then might explain the higher green score (Singh 2009). While there does not appear to be additional research on attitudinal differences among India's socio-economic segments towards green products, a recent article titled 'India's elites have a ferocious sense of entitlement' highlighted the negative social attitudes that exist, in general, among some of India's wealthier classes (Butalia 2013). It is said this wealth, among India's class-conscious elite, seems to have created a sense of privilege that is "completely tied in with political power, and often to crime without punishment" (Butalia 2013, para. 9). Furthermore, many in positions of authority also seem to exercise their "fundamental right to be rude" (Soondas 2006, para. 5). This raises the question as to whether India's less privileged segments might then be more inclined to empathise with concepts such as community welfare and social equity. On the other hand, it is also worth noting that ethical behaviour is contextual because "Everyone 'cares'; what we need to know is: "how much" they care, and in which behavioral outlets it will be revealed" (Devinney 2012, p. 18).

Of late, popular documentaries like 'Satyamev Jayate' (Truth Shall Prevail) have shed light on the problems of pesticide poisoning, food contamination and rising rates of cancers (*Toxic Food* 2012). This may explain why, despite the passion for visiting fast-food outlets, home cooked food ranks as the first choice among urban Indian consumers (Goyal & Singh 2007). Furthermore, the freshness/cleanliness of foods have been ranked, by consumers, as the most important feature followed then by price, quality, variety, packaging and convenience (Ali, Kapoor & Moorthy 2010). Greater health awareness seems to have also triggered greater demand for organic foods in India, as a recent study has indicated

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that the importance placed upon health is the bigger driver of purchase among consumers (Chakrabarti 2010). Furthermore, as awareness of social and environmental issues increase, the concept of fair trade also appears to be gaining momentum in India in order to curb rising socio-economic inequalities (Cousins 2013). For example, local companies like Chetna Organic, which represents more than 15,000 fair trade-certified farmers in India today, aims to ensure that farmers have a direct role in decision-making throughout the production and selling processes (Cousins 2013). In addition, nationwide movements for recycling along with calls to reduce one's own waste footprint have also been gaining significant momentum (*Don't waste your garbage* 2014).

All said and done, it seems the country still has a long way to go. Firstly, the problem of overpopulation needs to be urgently addressed because, while the human population doubles, it is predicted that, in the next century, the resources available, per person on a global scale, will drop by half to three fourths (Hawken et al. 1999). Hence, India, given its population of over a billion, needs to be especially mindful of its 'carrying capacity' i.e. the maximum number a habitat is capable of supporting, and which, if exceeded, would result in severe resource depletion as evident in both human and non-human populations throughout history (Koger & Winter 2010). Furthermore, the country today has also been termed as "an environmental basket-case; marked by polluted skies, dead rivers, falling water-tables, ever-increasing amounts of untreated wastes, disappearing forests" (Guha 2013, para. 17). Considering this disregard for the environment, Pushpangandan et al. (1987, p. 1) suggest re-exploring some of the previously regarded traditions of sustainability in their "original form or in the modified form to suit the changed conditions of modern living". In fact, bridging modern

day living with the age-old philosophies might well be worth looking into as "Indians have historically never seen a dichotomy between spirituality and materialism. The dominant Hinduism lays out the rules for the universe, in which preservation always goes hand in hand with wealth and prosperity" (Chapia 2013, para. 2). This indicates a cultural context that may need to be explored further.

2.8 Some considerations for ethical foods in India

Following on from the discussion in this literature review, this section provides a recap of key considerations relating to sustainability and, more specifically, ethical foods in India. Firstly, as one of the world's most populous countries with a rapidly growing middle-class, India needs to consider what its future might hold where, on one hand, it has an ambitious young population, determined to break free from the shackles of the previous generations, as they demand to live in a cleaner, more inclusive India. However, burdened under the weight of its population, together with rapid urbanisation, the country is also experiencing an alarming decrease in arable land and potable water sources thereby causing an escalation in food prices and rising levels of malnutrition (National Academy of Agricultural Sciences 2011).

More specifically, on the subject of ethical foods, the low level of awareness of green products signals a country that is still in its infancy as far as ethical consumerism is concerned, and the path ahead indicates many possibilities. On one hand, there are positive signs as urban consumers have indicated interest in purchasing green products. Furthermore, ancient traditions, which have moulded several aspects of India's contemporary socio-cultural identity, share many commonalities

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with the concept of sustainable living. Hence, although India may have received high 'Greendex' scores, by default, it also raises the question if Indians might be likely to hold an inherent regard for animals given the influence of Vedic philosophies and the 'Gandhian' view to life. On the other hand, India has also been termed as an "environmental basketcase" (Guha 2013, para. 17) while the urban consumer's obsession with material accumulation also raises the question as to what relevance might a concept like ethical foods actually have given that it essentially requires one to consider the plight of the wider community.

At present, India's younger consumers, untainted by biases and burdens of the older generation, are more positively pre-disposed towards green behaviours. Furthermore, while there have been some differences noted across India's socio-economic segments towards green behaviours, these need to be explored in more detail as it would seem that age could be a confounding factor (Singh 2009). Looking ahead, the country's 'Aspirant' segment, termed as the country's "engine of growth" (Majumdar 2010, p. 339/5262), represents a tremendous opportunity in the coming years and understanding differences within and across these segments is necessary given, not only the diverse sub-cultures, but, also, the stark attitudinal differences between modern and traditional India. There have already been some market segmentation studies done that highlight general differences in consumption behaviours and lifestyles among certain groups of urban Indian consumers (Kumar & Sarkar 2008; McKinsey & Company 2008) In addition to these, it might also be worth exploring value orientations (Shaw et al. 2005) as well as motivations (Flynn & Goldsmith 1994; Cialdini 2003) when it comes to understanding how these might influence ethical orientations in India.

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Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

This chapter covers the methodology and design used by this research to achieve its objectives. In summary, it includes a discussion on the research methodology, assumptions underlying the methodology, the research design, fieldwork and data analysis process as well as criteria used for establishing trustworthiness and authenticity.

3.1 Overview of the research methodology

The central question of this research is - what are the attitudes of India's urban middle-class, aged 18 to 35, towards ethical foods and what might influence their attitudes? This question itself poses a challenge as India is a country of diverse cultures with "15 official languages, over 300 minor languages and some 3,000 dialects", along with several thousand sub-categories of social castes (Buultjens 2014, para. 8). Given this diversity and, therefore, the many possible ways in which 'ethical foods' might be defined, it can be said that this study subscribes to a relativist ontology, where there are multiple realities and concepts which represent subjective viewpoints rather than an objective reality.

Noonan (2008, p. 579) suggests that the ontologist recognizes the possibility that, unlike natural science which is not produced by human action and therefore calls for an objective investigation, social reality is the result of complex human interactions, and the researcher who does not pose ontological questions fails to ask the most important question of

all i.e. "How did the given social reality come to be constituted as it appears?" Further to this, Burr (2003) states that social constructivism involves challenging the fact that conventional knowledge is based on a truly objective and unbiased view of the world. Hence, an exploratory qualitative approach was deemed appropriate for this study where, through interpretive orientation, it sought to explore the world from the individual's point of view, where no perspective was right or wrong and more than one reality could exist (Norum 2008).

3.1.1 Social Constructivism in Qualitative Research

Social constructivism, which is essentially about understanding "meaning-making" that is taking place within the individual's mind (Gergen & Gergen 2008, p. 817), was the key mode of qualitative inquiry used in this study. To answer the question on urban India's attitudes towards ethical food, the social constructivist inquiry aimed to explore how people develop their own meanings of their experiences, which are then directed towards objects and/or phenomena (Creswell 2009).

This study included groups of females and males as well as Hindus and Muslims, which represent two of India's largest religions (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). As participants viewed ethical foods from the lens of different cultures and value systems, there was an "emphasis on capturing and honouring multiple perspectives" as part of the social constructivist inquiry (Patton 2002, p. 102). Some examples included understanding the different perspectives of men and women as well as different cultural viewpoints from those who were more traditionally oriented versus those who claimed tradition was not a significant part of their belief system.

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It is also worth noting that the individual's understanding of the world is not only contingent upon their own values and experiences but also upon the identities of those with whom they interact (Yates 2013). Hence, it was important to also understand influences that might have shaped attitudes because, particularly within India's collectivist culture, one's views tend to be shaped by one's family, peers and other social networks that one has some affiliation with (The Hofstede Centre 2014).

As part of the social constructivist approach, there were two modes of inquiry that helped offer an understanding into how 'ethical foods' were defined. These included 'symbolic interactionism', used to understand meanings and symbolisms associated with various concepts, and 'hermeneutics' which explored the subjective interpretation of words, terms and phrases used in language. These are as discussed below.

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│   3.1.1 Social          │
│   Constructivism -      │
│   "meaning making"      │
│   for ethical foods     │
└─────────────────────────┘
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┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────┐
│ 3.1.1.1 Symbolic   │   │ 3.1.1.2 Hermeneutics │
│ Interactionism -   │   │ - language and   │
│ ethical foods as socio-│ │ interpretation of   │
│ cultural symbols   │   │ "ethical foods"   │
└──────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────┘
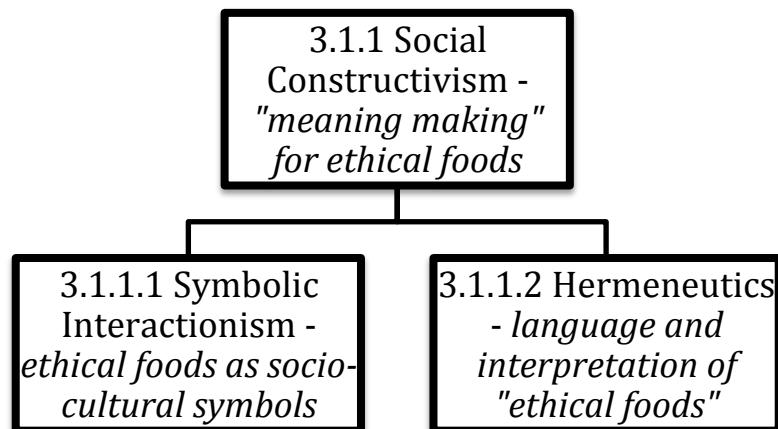
Diagram 1: Modes of constructivism used in this study

3.1.1.1 Symbolic Interactionism and ethical foods as a "social object"

Symbolic interactionism refers to symbols and shared meanings as a way of understanding how people perceive and interpret their world (Patton 2002). In fact, symbolic interactionism is made up of two aspects: the symbol and interaction, where the symbol refers to a social object that represents something (e.g., a physical object, a gesture or a word), and interaction refers to the interpersonal communication used in transmitting the meaning of these objects or symbols (Williams 2008).

The term 'ethical foods' can be viewed as a social object because of its religious social symbolisms and, according to the same paradigm, specific foods such as *"beef"* and *"non vegetarian"* had strong *"unethical"* connotations due to *"a belief system"* expressed by participants - *"a lot of people are veg not out of choice but because they follow Hinduism"*. To this point, Williams (2008) states that human beings tend to act toward things based on the meanings they attribute to them because nothing, by itself, has any inherent meaning. Furthermore, as Venkatesh (1994, para. 21) states, "No amount of field work will yield important insights into India unless this is also accompanied by a cultural understanding." Hence, it was important to understand the broader socio-cultural context that might have helped influence some of these associations. Some examples, expressed by participants, are follows:

- *"According to my thinking ethics are what is given by the family members to their children…it is transferred from one generation to the other generation."*
- *"we have been following Ayurvedic tradition for generations"*

Language, like other symbolic meanings, offers insight into people's experiences of the world (Freeman 2008) and this may explain why many interactionists tend to prefer naturalistic inquiry that focuses on people's behaviours in natural social settings as opposed to large-scale surveys (Williams 2008). This study used focus groups, which were largely unstructured, and perspectives from each subsequent group were collected until the point of saturation, which then led to the theory being constructed. This has been discussed in more detail, later in this chapter.

3.1.1.2 Hermeneutics and the interpretation of ethical foods

Hermeneutics, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is defined as the method of individual interpretation (Merriam-Webster 2014). It is built on the assumption that interpretation is not a straightforward activity and, even though people do it all the time when they interact with others, it is the meaning communicated between person and text, person and person, and person and world that is open to interpretation (Freeman 2008). The term 'ethical foods' was left open in the initial discussions, during the fieldwork, to understand how participants spontaneously defined this. Furthermore, to obtain a deeper understanding of the context surrounding these definitions, participants were also asked to broadly define the terms "ethics", "morals" and "values". Some examples of participant responses are as follows:

- *"Ethics is about one's thinking… relationships with our family"*
- *"ethics would be not selling your products by cheating your clients"*

As people experience other frames of reference, their understanding of themselves and the world incorporates some of this worldly text into their own and, because people also carry forward their prior experiences, they orient themselves to understanding in their own unique ways (Freeman 2008). Hence, this study spanned broader discussions relating to *"tradition", "family"* and *"public figures"* through the use of neutral words, phrases and "nondirectional language" (Patton 2002, p.113) as it offered some insight into how the term 'ethical foods' might have been interpreted.

3.1.2 Using the grounded research approach

The data gathering process for this study reflected some of the key principles of grounded theory in that meaning was derived from the participants and theory was generated in an emergent manner (Glaser & Strauss 1999). That said, the manner in which the research questions were framed was more closely aligned with grounded research rather than grounded theory in the pure sense. This is because, while grounded theory is committed to grounding an investigation in respondents' own theories, grounded research required the interview schedule to have some functional and researcher-directed questions to which answers were required while still also preserving an interactive, respondent directed ethic (Whiteley 2004).

In fact when considering grounded research as a methodology to explore the functioning of business organisations, Whiteley (2004, p. 6) claims there might be antecedent factors - such as existing hierarchies, structures, cultures, relationships and notions within the organisation - that might "contaminate" the emergence of theory in the pure sense. However, in saying that, "Contamination is always a matter of degree" as there might be

areas that might still allow emergence of theory from the perspective of grounded theory but, on the other hand, there might be contexts which the researcher might need to consider when deciding whether the research is able to truly represent grounded theory principles (Whiteley 2004, p. 6).

In this case, the grounded research approach was relevant for an exploratory study on ethical foods, which is a relatively new concept in India. To begin with, the pilot interviews and subsequently the focus groups revealed unfamiliarity, among participants, with terms like 'ethical foods' and 'socially responsible consumption'. However when presenting these terms within certain contexts with examples of ethical issues, participants felt that they were given more ground to work with and were thus able to express their views. This reflects a point made by Hammersley (2008, p. 123) about the need for specification of contexts for the qualitative researcher because otherwise "people will not be aware of the context in terms of which their actions can be properly understood. This is because relevant parts of this context will be either below or beyond their awareness—whether in the form of unconscious psychodynamic processes, macrohistorical structures, or both." This is also reflective of a point raised by Whiteley (2004, p. 11) in that any data, whether collected to confirm an existing theory or to explore new theory, must first be "fitted to the supercategories of meaning" within the current framework. Hence while there might be "incommensurable contexts in which we could locate what we are studying in the sense that a host of stories could be told. There is no notion of validity, in the sense of correspondence with reality, on which we can draw to privilege one definition of context over another. Other selection criteria—political, ethical, or aesthetic—must be used" (Hammersley 2008, p. 123). This might also explain why some multi-country studies on green attitudes and behaviours

tend to elicit different respondent reactions towards similar terms used across the data gathering process (Belk, Devinney & Eckhardt 2005; Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2010).

That said, the emphasis of this study, while using the paradigm of ethical foods from a largely Western context, attempted to deconstruct the unique meaning and interpretation of these terms and the phenomena (Glaser & Strauss 1999). Furthermore, the interviews commenced with a discussion on general values and meanings attributed to the term 'ethics', which provided some insightful context for how the term 'ethical foods' was subsequently perceived and defined. In addition, this research used an iterative study design, which entailed cycles of simultaneous data collection, analysis and adaptations of the data collection process to refine the emerging theory. The sample makeup was directed by the researcher, to some degree, in that the focus groups were pre-recruited, but these were also not tightly prescribed as they were kept within broad demographic parameters that reflected the research objectives.

3.2 Definition of key terms and phrases used in this study

Prior to discussing the research design, it would be useful to provide a recap of how key terms have been defined for this study. These are as follows:

Ethical consumption – The intentional purchase and consumption of products and services that involves minimal harm to and exploitation of humans, animals and/or the natural environment (Mohr, Webb & Harris 2001; Freestone & McGoldrick 2008).

Ethical food – This is similar to the definition stated by Mohr et al. (2001) in that ethical foods are those that have been produced with minimal adverse impact to their human stakeholders and the broader environment. In fact, Beagan, Ristovski-Slijepcevic & Chapman (2010, p. 753) state the term 'ethical' suggests "a deliberate, conscious attention to the use of food decision-making in order to enact a political stance relating to discourses of moral good and global responsibility." Various sources also indicate that ethical foods are closely associated with environmentally friendly foods (Freestone & McGoldrick 2008; Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2010). Examples include fair trade foods which aim to provide better working conditions for farmers (Varul 2009; British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3); free range foods which give animals the freedom to roam freely as opposed to being confined in cages (British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3) and organic foods (Zander & Hamm 2010; British Broadcasting Corporation 2014, para. 3). Ethical foods have also been associated with vegetarian food and 'moral vegetarianism' (Fessler, Arguello, Mekdara & Macias 2003) and healthy foods (Lupton 1996).

Urban India – The Census of India (2011, para. 2) defines urban India as meeting the following criteria – having a minimum population of 5,000 with a

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population density of at least 400 persons per sq km; at least 75% of the male working population must be engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; the region must have at least a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or a town area committee. This study covers residents from Gurgaon, located within the National Capital Region of Delhi (District Administration Gurgaon 2013).

Urban middle class – The urban population forms about 30% of India's total population (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). In addition, a quarter of India's urban residents can be considered as middle-class with four out of five being in the lower middle-class segment with a spending power of USD $2 to $4 a day (Mustafi 2013). There is then the "middle middle" class who spend USD $4 to $10 a day and the "upper middle class" who spend USD $10 to $20 a day (Mustafi 2013, para. 15). Overall, India's middle-class is considered to be the fastest growing consumer segment (Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania 2008). The socio-economic classification grid (SEC), which segments urban Indian households based on education levels and number of possessions (The Market Research Society of India 2011), was used to recruit participants for this study, and has been discussed in detail later in this chapter.

3.3 The Research Design

This was an exploratory qualitative study that used an emergent research design. This meant the study was not tightly prescribed as the process could shift once the research entered the field, and individuals studied and sites visited could also be modified (Creswell 2009). Furthermore, exploratory research is not intended to provide "conclusive evidence" from which to determine a particular course of action (Zikmund, D'Alessandro, Winzar, Lowe & Babin 2014, p. 22), as one of the conditions

under which exploratory research is conducted is when a group or phenomenon has received little or no systematic empirical scrutiny (Stebbins 2008). In addition, exploratory qualitative research must be approached with two key orientations - flexibility in looking for data and open-mindedness about where to find them (Stebbins 2008).

This study comprised three main phases: the triangulation of data sources which was ongoing throughout the duration of this study, pilot interviews and finally data collection through focus groups. Questions, within this social constructivist mode of inquiry, were deliberately left broad and general at the beginning so that the participants could "construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons" (Creswell 2009, p. 8). The research was also supplemented by researcher immersions, which included a 6-week stay in India, and involved visiting the local markets and observing shopper interactions. Knapman (2008, para. 8) describes the immersion process as "Speaking the customer's language, living their life, going to their pub and experiencing the world through their eyes" as a way of bringing their reality to life.

Triangulation of data sources and, to some extent, the immersion experience helped provide a richer, deeper perspective on the topic under study as it involved investigating any existing information on the subject, talking with knowledgeable individuals and "informally" investigating the situation (Zikmund et al. 2014, p. 23).

The summary of the stages of the research design, along with the timelines, is as shown in the diagram below:
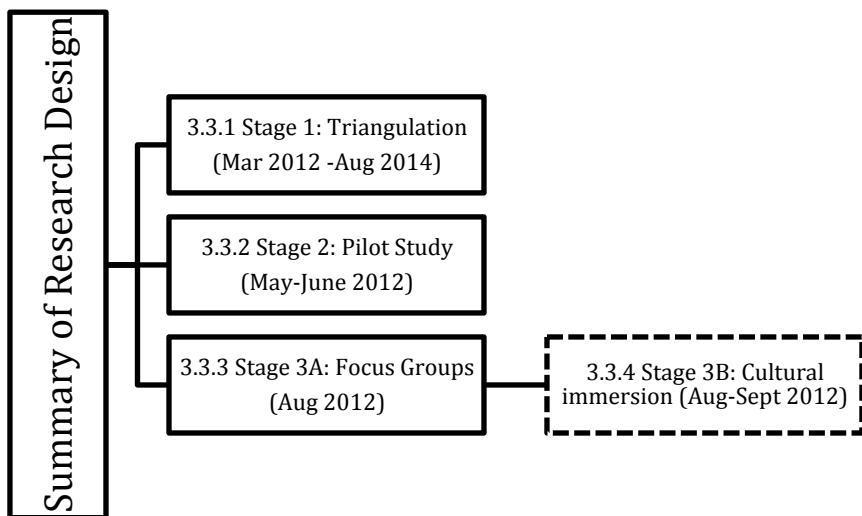
Diagram 2: Summary of research design and its various stages

3.3.1 Stage 1 - Triangulation of data sources

Triangulation can be defined as the mixing of data or methods to enable the researcher to obtain diverse viewpoints and cast some light upon the topic of study (Olson 2004). In fact the notion of triangulating "works metaphorically to call to mind the world's strongest geometric shape – the triangle […] Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of data collection and analysis provide more grist for the research mill" (Patton 2002, p. 555).

There are five types of triangulation method - data, investigator, theory, methodological and environmental triangulation (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald 2002). For this study, data triangulation was used to help provide context relating to social structures, cultural beliefs and the general environment that shapes the contemporary attitudes of India's urban middle-class. To some extent, triangulation also was used to validate some of the qualitative findings although it was not part of the formal data collection process. Checking interviews against program documents and other written evidence

helped to corroborate what participants had reported in the subsequent focus groups (Patton 2002). Besides checking the consistency of various issues that emerged during the focus groups, this information also helped shape Chapter 2 (Literature Review) and, to some extent, Chapter 6 (Considerations & Future Directions) for this study.

Within the process of data triangulation itself, there are three approaches and these include time, space and person triangulation (Polit & Beck 2008). Time triangulation involves gathering data at different periods of time; space triangulation refers to collecting data on the same phenomenon but across multiple sites to test for consistency and person triangulation involves collecting data from different types of people, such as different individuals, groups and communities, in order to validate data through multiple points of view (Polit & Beck 2008).

Time triangulation was the main approach used as this phase commenced in March 2012, about six months before the start of the fieldwork, and carried on well after the fieldwork was completed. The sources used included a wide variety of local and international newspapers, lifestyle and business magazines, opinions, analysis and commentary from news websites, popular television shows and documentaries from India and around the world – as also summarised in this diagram below *(List of sources have been included in the reference section for this thesis).*
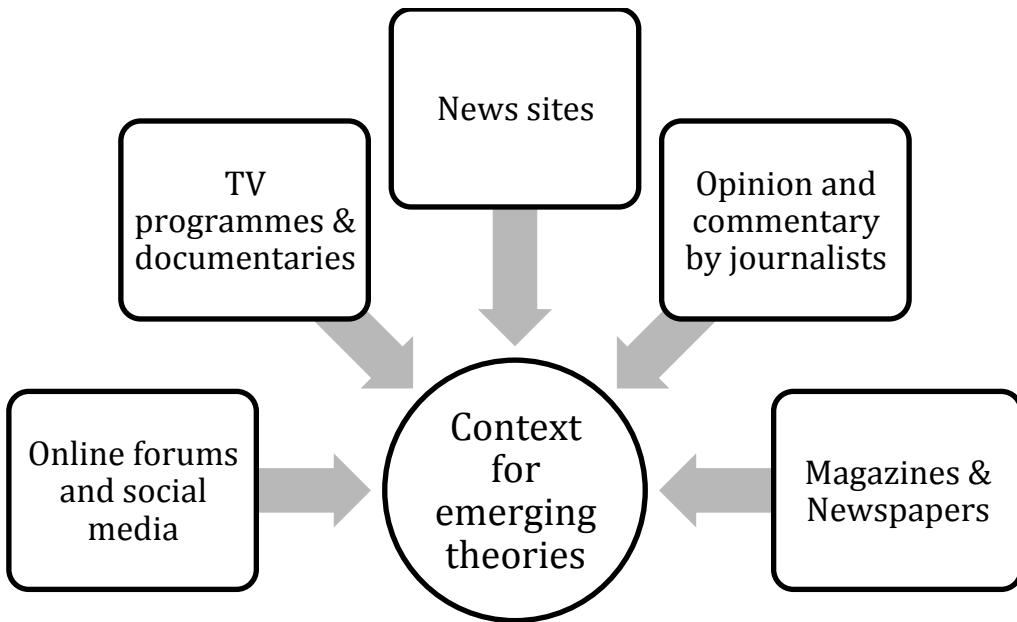
Diagram 3 - ***Various sources of data triangulation used for this study***

This phase involved monitoring key topics relating to 'food', 'sustainability', 'ethics' and 'the Indian consumer'. It provided a backdrop to understanding Indian food preferences and lifestyles, behaviour when shopping, attitudes towards pesticides and food scams, growing awareness of organic foods, the need for change amidst social inequalities, public cynicism amidst the corruption, the tremendous competition to get ahead and the sense of attachment for collectivist traditional values against a rapidly changing urban landscape. In fact, some of these factors helped offer an understanding into why there was a sense of apathy and disengagement, among some focus group participants, towards the concept of foods that proposed to offer a mutual benefit to both the consumer and the wider environment.

Patton (2002) states that a common misconception in data triangulation is that different sources of inquiry ought to yield the same result when, instead, this should offer deeper insight into the relationship between the inquiry approach and the topic being researched. In this study, the gathering

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of multiple perspectives, through different sources, helped develop a richer, multi-faceted understanding of the relatively new topic of ethical foods and ethical consumption in India.

3.3.2 Stage 2 - The Pilot Study

The pilot study was undertaken in Sydney during May and June 2012. In order to get as close a match as possible to the desired sample, the study included Indian overseas students aged 18-35 years. In addition, participants had to fulfil the following three criteria:

- Must be Indian nationals.

- Must have spent most of their time living in an Indian city.

- Must have lived in Australia for 6 months or less.

It was important that these participants were from India's urban regions as, according to recent literature, the level of exposure to and awareness of new ideas and concepts tend to be relatively higher among urbanites as compared to their rural counterparts, including the awareness of concepts such as socially responsible consumer behaviour (Singh 2009), ethical and green marketing (Gill 2012; Gupta & Abbas 2013). Furthermore, given that these were overseas students, there was an assumption that sampled students were well within the middle or upper middle socio-economic segment, as per definitions in Section 3.2 in this chapter.

The sample for the pilot study included participants from a mix of cities across India. These included New Delhi and cities in the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat and Orissa. Participants were recruited through an

advertisement placed on the University of New South Wales (UNSW) careers website and were paid $40 per hour for their time. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face at the UNSW library, located on the main campus in Kensington. Interviews ran from about one hour to an hour and a half and were audio recorded.

Given that the objective was to explore attitudes relating to ethical foods, the pilot study aimed to use focus groups as its mode of data collection as cultural influences on attitudes and behaviours tend to be highlighted more in groups than in individual in-depth interviews (Gordon & Langmaid 1988) and, in addition, groups are also a relatively quick and inexpensive way to gain multiple perspectives on a topic (Zikmund et al. 2014). However, as it proved to be challenging to recruit multiple participants for focus groups that met the aforementioned criteria and within the time frame required, the pilot study comprised a mix of two in-depth interviews and one focus group. The sample and details on the data collection are as follows:

Respondent details	Number of respondents	Mode of data collection	Duration of interview	Date of interview
Male. Resident of New Delhi aged 18-35. Hindu.	1	In-depth interview at UNSW library	1 hour 2 minutes	26th May 2012
Male. Resident of Orissa, aged 18-35. Hindu.	1	In-depth interview at UNSW library	1 hour 36 minutes	28th May 2012
Males. Residents of Gujarat, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, aged 18-35. Hindu.	4	Focus Group at UNSW library	1 hour 7 minutes	2nd June 2012

Table 1 – Summary of methodology and sample for the pilot study

Key questions covered during the pilot study were as follows:

- Definitions and perceptions relating to the term "ethics"

- Definitions and perceptions relating to the term "socially responsible behaviour"

- Definitions and perceptions relating to the term 'ethical foods"

- Other words and terms that may be used to describe the concept of "ethical foods"

- Attitudes towards various types of "ethical foods" such as free range, fair trade, animal welfare and responsibly packaged foods.

3.3.2.1 Learning from the pilot study

The pilot study was useful as it helped with "pushing an area of research or foreshadowed problem where reformulation or the generation of other researchable questions" could occur (Schreiber 2008, p. 625). Hence, the learning that emerged was used to guide the content and flow of subsequent focus groups, conducted later in the year in India. It is worth noting that focus groups and individual interviews would not have produced identical data, even from the same participants, as changes in social context can often create the potential for different interpretations and responses (Morgan 2008). In view of this, the more relevant learning, taken forward from the pilot phase, is as summarised in the diagram below:

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                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │  3.3.2.1 Learning│
                        │  from the Pilot  │
                        │      Study       │
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         ┌───────────────┬───────┴───────┬───────────────┐
┌─────────────────┐ ┌─────────────┐ ┌─────────────┐ ┌─────────────────┐
│3.3.2.1.1 Deciding│ │3.3.2.1.2 Terms│ │3.3.2.1.3 Areas to│ │3.3.2.1.4 Duration│
│the mode of data │ │used in the main│ │be explored  │ │of main study    │
│   collection    │ │    study      │ │   further    │ │                 │
└─────────────────┘ └─────────────┘ └─────────────┘ └─────────────────┘
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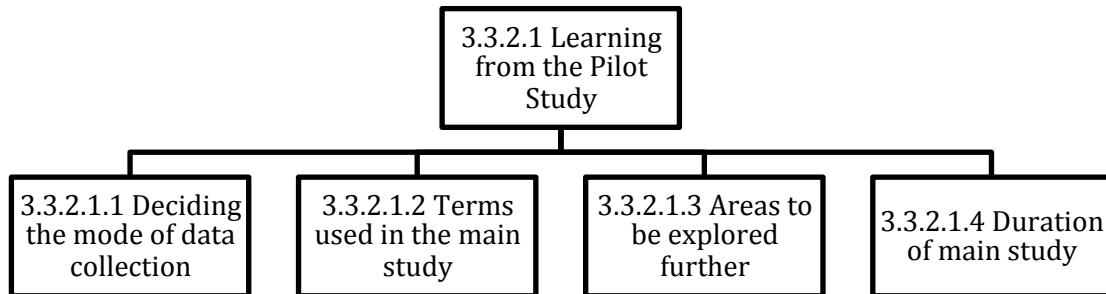
__Diagram 4 - Key learnings taken forward from the pilot study__

3.3.2.1.1 Deciding the mode of data collection

While the in-depth interviews provided rich insight on an individual level, focus groups would have allowed for a greater number of perspectives on the topic. This was especially useful for an exploratory study on ethical foods as the advantage of focus groups is that "one person's experiences or feelings 'spark off' another's" (Gordon & Langmaid 1988, p. 11) which would, hence, make this a useful vehicle for generating multiple viewpoints.

3.3.2.1.2 Defining the terms used for the main study

Nearly all the participants in the pilot study were unfamiliar with the terms 'ethical foods' and 'socially responsible consumption' as many felt these were *"vague", "technical"* or generally difficult to understand. On the other hand, these terms appeared to be better understood when presented with examples relating to specific issues such as *"farmer exploitation"* and *"caged eggs"*. As one of the aims of the pilot was to determine the types of questioning techniques "that will provide rich responses" (Schreiber 2008, p. 626), this feedback was noted and subsequent focus groups in India were

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asked to discuss their views on 'ethical foods' using specific examples provided by the moderator such as food that *"benefits the farmers"; "free range"* which doesn't involve putting *"five, ten hens in a cage"; "animal welfare foods"* which *"treat animals well"; "responsibly packaged foods";* foods from *"companies which invest their profits back into society".* Furthermore, as the study also aimed to explore participants' own subjective interpretations of ethical foods, it was important to begin the discussion with questions that initially enabled them to provide their own viewpoints on the topic. This helped minimise bias as Ogden (2008) indicates that the potential for bias occurs when a researcher chooses one question over another resulting in shaping participants to think differently than they normally would about the subject. This was especially important in an exploratory study where little is known about the topic.

3.3.2.1.3 Areas to be explored further

Foods that were perceived as offering health benefits appeared to be associated with being *"ethical".* Furthermore, information from the data triangulation revealed the presence of widespread food scams and cautiousness relating to food health and safety and, therefore, one of the objectives was to explore this issue and any perceived relationship with the term 'ethical foods'.

Religion and customary protocols were also discussed, as many participants indicated that non-vegetarian foods were *"unethical"* and *"wrong".* Given that the purpose of a pilot study is to also allow the researcher to determine any potential problems that may arise during fieldwork (Schreiber 2008), this meant it was important to have separate

focus groups of Hindu and Muslim participants as these would allow for varied perspectives yet avoid any potential problems with cultural sensitivities that might arise during the course of the discussions. The importance of keeping the two groups separate was also confirmed later, by the market research firm in India, who helped with recruiting and organising the focus groups (P Randev 2012, pers. comm., 31 July) *(See Appendix 3.1).*

Participants in the pilot study also discussed the issue of peer pressure and the need to fit in with their social groups when faced with the decision to buy and consume ethical foods, which indicated the need to explore this topic further as well.

3.3.2.1.4 Duration of the interviews

Overall, the pilot study seemed to indicate that interviews, which lasted for an hour or slightly more, worked well as it allowed for key topics to be discussed in detail while also keeping participants engaged in the process.

3.3.3 Stage 3A - The focus groups

As the objective of this study was to explore attitudes among India's urban middle-class, the focus groups were conducted among residents of Gurgaon. Gurgaon is situated in the NCR (National Capital Region) of Delhi and is one of Delhi's major satellite cities (District Administration Gurgaon 2013). Gurgaon has the third highest per capita income in India, is a major hub for many national and multinational companies, and is abuzz with some of India's largest shopping malls (Julka 2011).

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Panoramic view of Gurgaon (Delhicapital.com 2013)

There were six focus groups conducted in Gurgaon, covering different demographic and cultural segments. These included three groups, each, of females and males, aged 18 to 35 years, and these were split by Hindus and Muslims which, together, represent the majority (93%) of India's religious groups i.e.: Hindus form approximately 80% of India's population and Muslims make up approximately 13% (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). This phase of data collection can be summarised in the diagram as shown below:
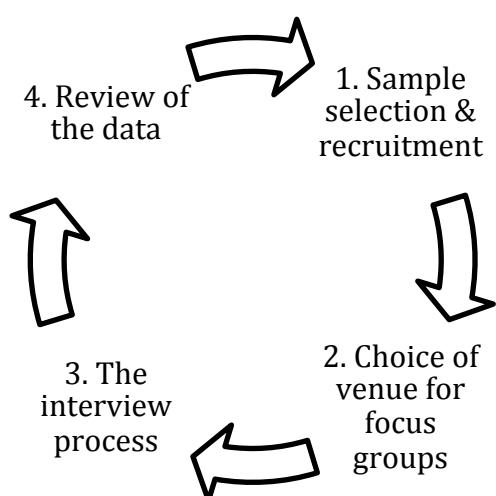
Diagram 5 – Data collection process using focus groups

The process of data collection was assumed to be a cyclical process, where if saturation was not reached, the recruitment of additional participants and subsequently the data collection process would begin all over again. However, upon completion of six groups, it was found that saturation, within the defined parameters of the research objectives, was adequately reached and hence there was no need for additional data collection. The process of determining this has been discussed in more detail further on in this chapter.

3.3.3.1 Sample Selection and Recruitment for Focus Groups

It was mandatory for participants to be the main or joint decision maker for household items purchased, and those who spoke either English and/or Hindi were recruited. Hindi is spoken by 41% of India's population (Central Intelligence Agency 2012) and, according to a recent newspaper report - 'Indiaspeak: English is our 2nd language' (2010) - English, which is the country's subsidiary official language, is spoken by 125 million or approximately 10% of the population. This covered a significantly large proportion, particularly among the urban middle-class, and the sample was mixed across age, gender, education and occupations. Furthermore, participants needed to be willing to reflect on and share detailed information on their consumption values and views, and one way to ensure that they were comfortable talking to each other was through the creation of "homogeneous groups" where participants could share common exchanges with regard to the research topic (Morgan 2008, p. 354). This was especially important among the Indian middle-class given the fairly diverse socio-economic variations (The Market Research Society of India 2011).

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The research aimed to speak to specific segments of the middle-class based on the Indian socio-economic standard of classification (SEC) which segments households based on two variables – (1) education of chief earner; and (2) the number of consumer durables owned by the household, selected from a predefined list of 11 items that ranged from an electricity connection to personal items such as an air conditioner, refrigerator and washing machine *(see Appendix 1 for more details)*. Based on these two variables, urban households can then be segmented into 12 socio-economic classifications ranging from SEC A1 to E3 (The Market Research Society of India 2011) as shown in this table below:

# of items owned	Illiterate	Literate but no formal schooling/ Been in school for 4 years	Been in school/ had schooling for 5 to 9 years	SSC/HSC/ CBSE – Passed class 10	Some college (including a diploma) not graduated	Finished college/ have a general graduate/ post graduate degree	Finished college/ have a professional graduate/ post graduate degree
None	E3	E2	E2	E2	E2	E1	D2
1	E2	E1	E1	E1	D2	D2	D2
2	E1	E1	D2	D2	D1	D1	D1
3	D2	D2	D1	D1	C2	C2	C2
4	D1	C2	C2	C1	C1	B2	B2
5	C2	C1	C1	B2	B1	B1	B1
6	C1	B2	B2	B1	A3	A3	A3
7	C1	B1	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2
8	B1	A3	A3	A3	A2	A2	A2
9+	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2	A1	A1

Table 2 – The urban Indian socio-economic (SEC) grid

Out of these, SEC A2, SEC B and the top end of SEC C are considered to be the "upwardly mobile" middle class segments that marketers are most interested in (Bijapurkar 2009, para. 5). Furthermore, telephone conversations and email correspondence with Inquest Market Research, the local market research agency who were briefed about the objectives of this study from the outset, also confirmed similar market segments as being most

relevant i.e. SEC A2 and B1 (P Randev 2012, pers. comm., 4 June). The final sample for this study included participants from SEC A2, A3, B1 and B2, which make up 32% of India's urban households (The Market Research Society of India 2011). In addition, a subset of these segments was selected, as it was important that participants had to have at least completed some formal education. Hence the groups for this study were selected from the following segments, shaded in the table below:

# of items owned	Illiterate	Literate but no formal schooling/ Been in school for 4 years	Been in school/ had schooling for 5 to 9 years	SSC/HSC/ CBSE – Passed class 10	Some college (including a diploma) not graduated	Finished college/ have a general graduate/ post graduate degree	Finished college/ have a professional graduate/ post graduate degree
None	E3	E2	E2	E2	E2	E1	D2
1	E2	E1	E1	E1	D2	D2	D2
2	E1	E1	D2	D2	D1	D1	D1
3	D2	D2	D1	D1	C2	C2	C2
4	D1	C2	C2	C1	C1	B2	B2
5	C2	C1	C1	B2	B1	B1	B1
6	C1	B2	B2	B1	A3	A3	A3
7	C1	B1	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2
8	B1	A3	A3	A3	A2	A2	A2
9+	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2	A1	A1

Table 3 – The urban socio-economic segments chosen for this study

Prior to starting the fieldwork, the participants were recruited, by the market research agency, via face-to-face street intercepts (P Randev 2012, pers. comm., 31 July). There were a total of six groups that were screened and pre-recruited using the screener that was prepared for the research agency to use *(see Appendix 2.2)*. Details on the sample and the fieldwork dates are summarised in the table below:

Group #	SEC	Gender	Age	Religion	Number of participants per group	Date
1	A2/A3	Females	18-35 years	Hindu	8-10	21st Aug '12
2	A2/A3	Males	18-35 years	Hindu	8-10	21st Aug '12
3	A2/A3	Males	18-35 years	Muslim	8-10	24th Aug '12
4	A2/A3	Females	18-35 years	Muslim	8-10	24th Aug '12
5	B1/B2	Males	18-35 years	Hindu	8-10	27th Aug '12
6	B1/B2	Females	18-35 years	Hindu	8-10	27th Aug '12

Table 4 – Fieldwork details for focus groups held in Gurgaon, India

Group participants were either residents of Gurgaon or New Delhi and were offered a few hundred rupees for approximately an hour and a half of their time. The groups were held during the weekday evenings when it was convenient for most people and each group comprised 8 to 10 participants. On each day, there were two groups held with the first one starting at 6pm and ending by 7:30pm, and the second one starting by 7:30pm and ending by 9pm. All the six groups were held from 21st August to 27th August 2012 with a break in-between to allow for the data to be assessed, emerging findings to be noted down and to determine if there were any revisions or additional questions required for the discussion guide. Some questions were added, based on initial findings from the first couple of groups, and these have been discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

3.3.3.2 Venue

Instead of conducting the groups at a central location, such as a focus group facility, where the environment tends to be contrived and may affect responses (Creswell 2009), the groups were done at the home of a Gurgaon resident, whose contact details were provided by the market research agency (P Randev 2012, pers. comm., 17 August). In fact, conducting the groups at a neighbourhood home was recommended by the agency because, culturally, most people were deemed to feel more comfortable meeting there rather than at a central location that was largely unfamiliar and unknown (P Randev 2012, pers. comm., 17 August). The home was located in the bustling Gurgaon district of IFFCO Chowk, which has a train station located along the Delhi Metro line and is in close proximity to Gurgaon's main shopping complexes, business centres and homes, making it relatively easy for participants to commute to the venue and therefore enabling the groups to start on time. The home also helped provide a natural, relaxed and informal setting for the discussions.

The homeowner was not a participant in any of the focus groups and only provided her home as the venue for participants. Participants were seated around the dining table in the living room and refreshments, such as cold drinks and light snacks, were provided. All the sessions were audio-visually recorded and there were DVD copies made for each session.

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3.3.3.3 Structure of the groups and role of the researcher

At the start of the group, participants were informed that the discussions would run for approximately an hour and a half. Besides this, there were no other controls placed on the proceedings of the groups. The questions, in general, followed this format, as below, but the discussions were kept open and largely unstructured:

- Participants to introduce themselves
- Discussion on food preferences
- General definition of the term ethics
- Types of foods that would be considered ethical & why?
- Attitudes towards fair trade foods, free range foods, animal welfare foods and responsibly packaged foods

During the course of the research, there were some additional probes, which were later added to the discussion guide, to help allow for a deeper understanding into certain attitudes that emerged. These questions were only asked if relevant, as Roulston (2008) states that the use of effective probing relies on the interviewer's ability to actively judge if further information is necessary to find meaning, followed by then judiciously asking for further explanations on the topics of interest. Some examples of probes/additional questions that were presented to the groups were as follows:

- *"That episode that appeared in Satyamev Jayate* (Indian documentary series based on contemporary social problems in India)*...which was about foods....about fertilizers, pesticides, what was your opinion about that?"*
- *"there was a group of women who said ethical foods are those which are good for our kids...What do you think?"*

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- *"some people…say that I will only buy foods that are good for the planet or good for our farmers. So what sort of people do you think they would be?"*
- *"what should be the first most important quality of ethical foods? Does it need to be fresh or traditional or vegetarian….what should it be….how would you rank them?"*

Sherry (2008) states that a researcher who shares the same ethnicity as research participants, as was the case in this particular study, may be expected to be sensitive to differences such as gender, age, education and other factors that may affect the nature of the data collected. Furthermore, participants may remain silent on certain issues about which they may assume the researcher to already know, and researchers may fail to ask appropriate follow-up questions that would make this information explicit (McGinn 2008). Hence maintaining my role, largely, as the 'outsider' from 'out of town' was helpful as there was then less of an expectation that the researcher ought to understand the "concerns, feelings, social norms/conventions, beliefs, daily activities, and/or cultural practices related to the issue or group" (Leckie 2008, p. 775), which, in turn, helped yield more elaborate and richer discussions.

3.3.3.4 The focus group interview process

According to Gordon & Langmaid (1988, p. 39), there are five phases that a focus group typically goes through i.e. Forming, Storming, Norming, Performing and Mourning. This framework appears to borrow from Tuckman's development sequence for small groups which is "a

conceptualization of changes in group behavior, in both social and task realms, across all group settings, over time" (Tuckman 1965, p. 386). Within the context of this study, these have been summarised as follows:

"Forming" - creation of group rapport & engagement → **"Storming"** - Moderator largely assumed "listener" role → **"Norming"** - ensuring everyone's viewpoints are heard → **"Performing"** - emergence of diverse perspectives → **"Mourning"** - summary of thoughts and wrap up
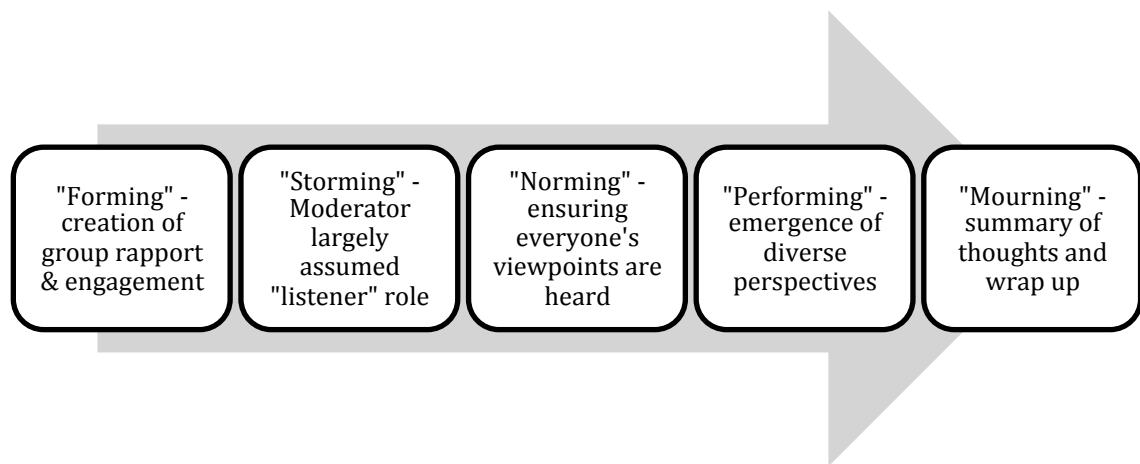
__Diagram 6 – Stages of the interview process for this study__

Forming is the first stage of inclusion that sets the pattern for communication for the rest of the duration of the group. One way of forming the group, as suggested by Gordon & Langmaid (1988 p. 39), is to form pairs and ask each member to introduce the other to the group. This technique was tried during the first group but participants seemed unsure of what to do with this manner of introduction and, hence, this approach to "forming" was dropped as in subsequent groups as each participant was simply asked to directly introduce herself/himself to rest of the group. All the discussions commenced with general topics that people were likely to find interesting such as their personal food interests before delving deeper into other specific areas because initially, when participants may or may not be highly engaged, the first few questions should be oriented toward participants' interests so as to encourage lively group dynamics that will lead to an active discussion when the questions get closer to the researcher's core topics (Morgan 2008).

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After the introductory discussions, 'Storming' is about the group setting boundaries and limits as "People want to know who knows what, who is assertive, who compliant, and how the moderator will respond to the manifestation of tensions and struggle" (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 40). My role as the interviewer was described to the group as being mainly the listener and occasional facilitator, as opposed to actively directing it, and it is often helpful to let participants know this, beforehand, as the rapport will vary according to different circumstances and expectations (Morgan & Guevara 2008). Practically all the groups had some participants that were more dominant and, as the interviewer, I would then actively step in to ask some of the quieter participants about their opinions thereby attempting to balance the perspectives in the room. While the 'Storming' phase was relatively smooth overall with most participants eager to get on with the discussion, some questions such as - *"In terms of clothing...why is it a value?"* and *"what is it about halal foods that make it ethical...could you elaborate?"* – that were asked in response to participant answers were met with some silence and reservation among some participants. To this point, the "insider/outsider dichotomy" may raise some dilemmas regarding the role of the researcher in relation to issues such as acceptance and trustworthiness (Leckie 2008) and hence the researcher needs to be sensitive to nonverbal cues such as changes in body language (Low 2008). When this reservation was observed, it was then emphasised that the topic was part of a general discussion for research purposes and, hence, by describing both the nature of the project and the procedures for the data collection itself, the researcher may set the stage for rapport building with participants (Morgan & Guevara 2008). Hence, after this was explained, many in the group subsequently seemed to feel more comfortable and at ease with the discussions.

The "Norming" phase is where "acceptance and agreement begin to pervade the atmosphere" as people start to find things in common and accept differences (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 40). This might have been helped by the fact that the groups were fairly homogenous in terms of their socio-economic segmentation and furthermore, in a relatively strong collectivist culture, there tends to be a preference for belonging to a larger social framework in which individuals are expected to act in accordance with one's defined in-groups (The Hofstede Centre 2014). Keeping this in mind, it was also important then to pay special attention to participants who did not reflect the popular viewpoint in order to get a more well rounded perspective. In this case, non-verbal communication was used to "steer the research situation" by avoiding eye contact to close off a one-sided conversation, looking encouragingly and leaning towards some of the quieter participants (Keegan 2008, p. 564). Some seemed more open and willing to share contradictory opinions and they were used to draw out conversations from among the quieter participants through questions such as: *"What do the others think... do you agree, disagree?"*; *"There could be different opinions on this, this is the purpose of the research…"*;*"Does anyone want to say anything else?"*

'Performing' refers to the co-operative task oriented activity where the "real work" of the group is done as participants "will be bent on the task, leaning forward with interest, signalling evaluation" (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 41). Through the course of the discussions, it emerged that different individuals viewed ethical foods from the context of different cultures and value systems thereby providing multiple constructs of reality. Some of these included participants from diverse Hindu sects who had different, and sometimes, contradictory cultural beliefs i.e. *"in Hinduism there are subdivisions…Brahmins, Mughliyas etc, there are different religions"*. There

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were also different perspectives among those who were more traditionally oriented and those who were less so, as quoted below:

- *"I believe in whatever my mother believes in so I just continue with that"*
- *"I've never really been into the cultural stuff"*

In addition, there were also the views of those for whom the concept of mutual benefit was more appealing while for some it was less of priority:

- *"if it's good for the planet, good for the animals…then we won't leave those types of foods"*
- *"nobody cares about what's ethical or ethical food…at least from our perspective"*

Finally, the "Mourning" phase in a group refers to the process of getting a gauge for whether participants felt they had anything to say they didn't mean, left something unsaid that was important or any final remarks before the interview is wrapped up (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 42). When nearing the end of the discussions, the final question was often mentioned to participants as the being *"just the last question"* and some, while answering the question, also took this an opportunity to sum up their general views on the topic discussed which helped provide a useful overview of their attitudes.

3.3.3.5 Exploring meaning during the focus groups

During the course of focus groups, there were some key areas that needed to be emphasized in order to deepen the understanding of participant attitudes. These were as follows:

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Exploring the meaning of "ethical" - 'Ethical foods' seemed to be defined, by many participants, as foods that offered some kind of benefit to themselves and/or their families, rather than having a wider social or environmental benefit. It is said that, more often than not, the "remarks and answers offered in qualitative sessions are the result of phenomena beyond the brand, advertising or task issues" (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 59) and, hence, it was important to get context behind these definitions as, according to the hermeneutic perspective, meaning often arises from awareness of contexts and the dialectical relationships between such contexts and texts (Vannini 2008). The discussions were, therefore, steered to understand meanings related the general term 'ethics' and how the interplay of tradition, language, experience, and context might have contributed to its interpretation (Freeman 2008) which would, in turn, yield some insight into the ways in which ethical foods were perceived and defined.

Exploring the relationship between "healthy" and "ethical foods" – Similar to the pilot study, participants in the focus groups also described *"healthy"* and *"unadulterated"* foods as being 'ethical'. Subsequent questions, therefore, went deeper to explore awareness and concerns relating to the consumption of *"junk foods"*, a term that was mentioned by participants, along with the use of pesticides and chemicals in foods, the rise of diabetes, childhood obesity, food marketing targeting children and the recent documentary series 'Satyamev Jayate' which covered how food poisoning in India is rapidly becoming a social epidemic (*Toxic Food* 2012).

Exploring the balance of tradition and modernity – While many participants claimed they did not strictly adhere to traditional protocols and customs, they also felt that foods reflecting their cultural roots with old

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"country" imagery had strong ethical associations as it symbolised the preservation of *"good"* Indian values. Therefore it was important to understand perceptions of the changing urban landscape, food habits and attitudes towards *"foreign"* food chains like Pizza Hut and McDonalds and how these might compare with local customary foods and traditions. Examples of questions included - *"why is tradition so important?"; "Why are traditional foods ethical foods for you? "Some people think western foods aren't good…?"; "How important are customary/traditional foods?"*

Exploring scepticism – Some disengagement and scepticism, expressed towards the concept of ethical foods, meant it was important to understand the reasons behind this along with discussing *"important"* characteristics and attributes that *"ethical foods"* should have if they were to be made available to the middle class Indian consumer. These, along the other points relating to health and socio-cultural influences, as mentioned earlier, have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (Research Findings).

3.3.3.6 Moderation technique used the focus groups

As these were unstructured interviews, the discussions were left largely open as participants were allowed to follow their own paths. In addition to this, Gordon & Langmaid (1998, p. 58) discuss the "intentional level of communication" in a typical focus group where body language and tone of voice may actually discount what is being said while verbal agreement may just be used "to hurry things along, gloss over, or avoid uncomfortable areas." Furthermore, it is also likely that these "seemingly obscure levels" of communication are far more likely to influence behaviour in the marketplace

than what is actually being said (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 58). This was noticed in some instances where participant claims relating to buying "ethical foods" might have been overstated. In one group, after there was much enthusiasm expressed towards the concept of ethical foods, with many stating they would buy them, one participant piped up saying - *"We've all heard things about the planet now once, twice, three times (pointing at moderator) so now we might start to think about it. Otherwise it's forget about the planet, people just consider the price…if they're both the same as far as health is concerned, we will look at the product's price, it's not about the planet!"* Further to this point, Gordon & Langmaid (1998, p. 58) state "once the intentional and correct meaning is acknowledged, it usually rises rapidly to the surface and adds a new perspective to the group's response, which often overwhelms the original one". Similarly, some participants were quick to change their original stance and agree with the perspective relating to *"price"* over *"planet"*. However, there were also others who remained insistent with responses such as "*But the planet matters too!*" and *"saving water for the future"* which may perhaps indicate a genuine consideration, among some, towards such foods.

In addition, Gordon & Langmaid (1998, p. 60) also indicate that, as a moderator, "If you are uncertain about the sincerity of a remark you may sometimes check it by asking a respondent to recall it later" and this may be particularly important in a culture like India where social agreeableness tends to rank quite highly (The Hofstede Centre 2014). Hence, throughout the course of the groups, contradictions were examined with questions such as *"you've said that Gandhi doesn't matter but yet you buy Baba Ramdev's products…what's the difference there?"* and *"you said that if there are labels you would consider it, now you're saying no…so why the*

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contradiction?" and questions that were redirected back to the participant - *"But what is important for you?"* – in order to gauge whether it was truly the individual's viewpoint rather than an attempt to reach a collective consensus.

3.3.3.7 Saturation

One of the key questions that must be addressed in a qualitative study is – is there enough data collected to develop rich descriptions of the phenomena under study, and if the answer to this is no then it is said that theoretical saturation has not occurred (Eide 2008). On the other hand, Saumure & Given (2008, p. 196) state that reaching saturation can be somewhat relative because perpetually looking for new information will eventually result in something novel but then researchers need to also decide when new data will result in "diminishing returns". Hence, it was important to define the parameters of this study, from the outset, as the objective of the research is the key determinant and a relatively small study, with narrowly defined objectives, might achieve saturation quicker than a study that spans multiple disciplines (Charmaz & Bryant 2008).

However, it could well be that additional methodology, such as ethnography or observations, might have uncovered additional new insights because a researcher, who has been in the field for some time, may gain deeper insight into the nuances of the research setting and, so, it is more likely that they will develop a thorough understanding of the themes and their interrelationships (Saumure & Given 2008). On the other hand, Strauss & Corbin (2008) state that saturation should, instead, focus on reaching the point where any new data would not necessarily add anything to the overall

objective and framework of the study. Within this research, common themes, such as spontaneous definitions of ethical foods and attitudes towards specific examples of foods, began to emerge after approximately the third or fourth group and subsequent groups were used to qualitatively validate what was emerging along with exploring contradictory viewpoints, if they spontaneously emerged. In addition, it also appears that the relative homogeneity of each of the groups might have helped achieve saturation as Saumure & Given (2008) indicate that saturation may be achieved more quickly if the sample is cohesive (e.g., if all participants are members of a particular demographic group).

3.3.4 Stage 3B - Consumer immersions

While the consumer immersion experience, which included a six week stay in India, was not part of the formal data collection, it helped provide some understanding of what was of social significance, at that point in time, as it involved visiting the local markets, following what was making news headlines, listening to contemporary topics that were being discussed in the media and observing popular brands and the characteristics of their advertisements. Fetterman (2010, p. 37) states that immersion in a culture involves the researcher living and working in the community for 6 months to a year or longer, learning the language and seeing patterns of behaviour over time as this long-term residence helps the researcher to "internalize the basic beliefs, fears, hopes, and expectations of the people under study." In fact, during the exploration phase of a study, social interactionists tend to familiarise themselves with the topic by becoming "an 'insider' of a particular social world" (Williams 2008, p. 852). Hence, living in Gurgaon

and conducting the groups in the home of a resident, amidst the local neighbourhood, helped to provide a new layer of understanding of the residents' lifestyles, interactions with their neighbours, the local shops within their vicinity and their daily activities. Although the stay was for a relatively short period of time, it helped provide a glimpse into the lifestyles of some of the Indian urban middle-class and therefore, some understanding into how and why a concept like 'ethical foods' may or may not be well understood and received.

3.4 Data organisation and the early stages of analysis

Once the fieldwork was complete, the next step was getting the data ready for analysis. Patton (2002, p. 440) discusses the organisation of the analysis as involving the following steps – labelling with a notation system that will make data retrieval more manageable; completing the transcriptions and "checking to see any glaring holes in the data that need to be filled by collection of additional data." Copies were made of the DVDs for all the groups and these were stored in one folder, together with all the fieldwork notes. Phases for data organisation and preparation have been summarised in the diagram below:
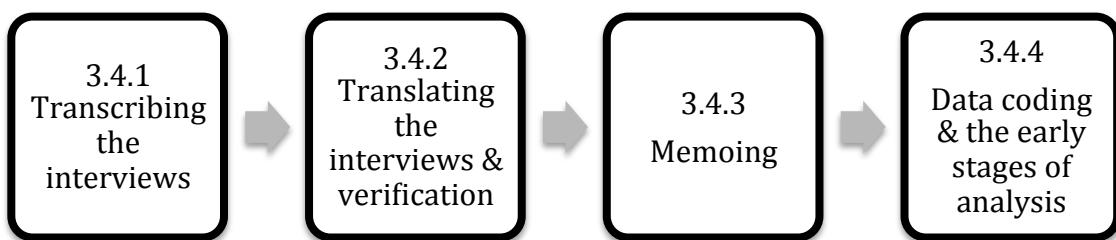
Diagram 7 – Stages of the data preparation, organisation and early analysis

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3.4.1 Transcribing the focus group interviews

Although the participants of the focus groups were recruited based on their knowledge of English and/or Hindi, the majority of the focus groups were conducted in Hindi as participants were more comfortable speaking the language. Compared to other parts of India, Hindi tends to be more commonly spoken in Delhi and the other Northern regions (British Broadcasting Corporation 2014) and the transcriptions, although spoken in Hindi, were captured phonetically in English script e.g. - *"Yeh ethical foods ke baare meh baath kar rahi hai"* (which means "She is talking about ethical foods"). The transcriptions, which I had typed up, aimed to preserve the flavour of the "natural conversations" (Patton 2002, p. 441) by capturing the participant responses and expressions verbatim.

Poland (2008, p. 885) states that moving from a live experience to "two-dimensional written prose" may have consequences for the way data might be interpreted because verbatim records do not capture many elements of interpersonal interaction, which are essential for the interpretation of what is said. Some of these include tonality, humour, sarcasm, excitement, hesitancy, laughter, mimicking others, or the interviewer's use of "uh-huh" that steers the participant, intentionally or unintentionally (Poland 2008, p. 886). The transcriptions for this study were done by watching the DVD recordings, which helped with reliving the experience, more than just listening to audio recordings, as they re-captured, to some extent, the mood of the room and body language. Further to this, Gordon & Langmaid (1998, p. 141) indicate that it is during this process that the researcher will be "re-experiencing the postures, facial expressions, heart-rate, eye movements and

so on of that time back there when you were in the group." Significant pauses such as silence in response to unexpected or unfamiliar questions, certain expressions that were emphasized and laughter signifying thoughts and emotions were also noted down in brackets, during the transcriptions, as they helped with the data analysis later.

One of the limitations worth noting was the general quality of the audio-visual material. A ceiling fan, located in the living room, was turned on during the first group (Group 1) but later, when watching the DVD, it was found to drown out the sound and hence the data for Group 1, unfortunately, was largely unusable. This was made note of and the fan was turned off for subsequent groups. However, as the room was relatively small, with no windows, and the groups were held during the summer month of August, an air-conditioner was brought in. While it did not obscure the sound, it was a little noisy and, at times, made the conversations difficult to follow during the transcriptions, particularly among some quieter participants. Therefore, the process of transcription, for each group, lasted a few days as it required re-playing the DVD back several times in order to accurately capture what was being said along with accompanying expressions that were used.

3.4.2 Translating the focus group interviews and verification

Once the transcriptions were completed, all the scripts were then translated into English. It is worth noting that many words and phrases had to be altered to some extent due to lack of adequate and grammatically correct translations and, hence, several parts of the script required more elaborate descriptions in English in order to capture the essence of what was said, thereby resulting in a somewhat longer English transcript than the original

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one in Hindi. Nonetheless, van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg (2010, para. 13) state that this could be a positive thing because the analyses then might actually benefit from using "fluid descriptions of meanings using various English formulations" and that these rich descriptions are considered to contribute to "trustworthiness" in qualitative research (van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg 2010, para. 15).

Both scripts – the original one in Hindi and their English translations - were sent to a professional translator, who was fluent in both languages, in order for the translations to be verified. Her contact details were sourced through the help of Curtin Business School (R Koul 2013, pers. comm., 25 February) and all correspondence with the translator was done via email. Translations for all the groups were largely confirmed as being accurate and some suggestions, which included changing a few words and phrases in the scripts, were made accordingly *(See Appendix 6)*. Temple (2008, p. 891) discusses challenges with validity when it comes to translations because "professional interpreters and community researchers may translate from their own perspective and, therefore, may not represent all language users and all translation positions within a language." Therefore, although the full original language texts were made available, some degree of subjective interpretation of meaning is to be expected in the translations.

3.4.3 The process of memoing

Groenewald (2008) states that memoing is the act of recording reflective notes about what the researcher is learning from the data, and involves total creative freedom as there are no rules regarding writing, grammar or style. It is purely an instrument to capture the outflow of ideas,

insights, and observations (Groenewald 2008). Memoing can take place both during and after the data collection process, and often happens throughout the coding process (van Den Hoonard & van Den Hoonard 2008). There were some general notes captured in an A5-sized notebook during the focus groups and, after each one was completed, the notes, which captured initial thoughts and reflections that emerged, were typed up in an email to the supervisors of this thesis *(see Appendix 5)*. Mills (2008) states that qualitative researchers arrive at a more profound analysis of the data when they engage in writing as soon as possible as these writing bouts often yield insights that may not be readily apparent, even after the coding has been completed.

It was also during the process of transcribing the interviews that key thoughts and ideas were made note of and these were then compiled in a word document *(see Appendix 7)*. Relevant and significant quotes from each transcript were noted down, as part of the memoing process, and findings from subsequent transcripts helped build upon the emerging picture as complementary and contradictory perspectives came together to flesh out major themes. Broad themes, central to the research question, included 'Definition of ethical foods' and attitudes towards these foods in general. All the other themes, referred to as satellite themes, helped provide further context to these major themes but, by themselves, were not central to the research question. This has been discussed in more detail in the following section - The process of data coding.

3.4.4 The process of data coding

While earlier stages of the fieldwork tend to be generative and emergent as "patterns take shape and possible themes sprint to mind", the later stages bring closure by deepening the insights and confirming or disconfirming patterns that have appeared (Patton 2002, p. 437). This study used an inductive method of coding as new concepts and themes were constructed from the data itself (van Den Hoonard & van Den Hoonard 2008). In summary, the process involved attaching labels to the data to identify occurrences and meanings while also grouping similar findings and taking note of what differed (Benaquisto 2008). Coding was done using Nvivo version 10. The software helped sort and keep track of categories and corresponding sections of text, which were colour coded, making it convenient to work through large amounts of data. The process began by uploading all the transcripts into Nvivo, which were then stored in the software itself, in text format. The next step included reading each transcript, "line-by-line", paying attention to the fine details and making note of emergent categories as they evolved (van Den Hoonard & van Den Hoonard 2008, p. 188). This process also included capturing significant pauses and expressions, later included as part of the analysis (Charmaz & Bryant 2008). Some examples of these included silence among participants, signifying their unfamiliarity, when asked the question - *"have you heard of the term ethical foods?"*; laughter relating to the controversial topic of non-vegetarian foods – *"They won't mind the first time… (laughter)"* and facial expressions when discussing the topic of foods such as *"pork"*

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Benaquisto (2008) indicates that the process of coding includes three key phases i.e. 'open coding' which occurs during the early stages and involves category labelling; 'axial coding' which re-examines and refines categories; and 'selective coding' which explores relationships across categories. These are summarized in the diagram below and discussed in the subsequent sections.

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                ┌─────────────────────┐
                │ 3.4.4 The coding    │
                │ process for this    │
                │ study               │
                └─────────────────────┘
         ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│3.4.4.1 Open  │ │3.4.4.2 Axial │ │3.4.4.3       │
│Coding -      │ │coding -      │ │Selective     │
│creating codes│ │refining codes│ │coding -      │
│& categories  │ │as more       │ │examining     │
│              │ │findings      │ │relationships │
│              │ │emerge        │ │between codes │
│              │ │              │ │& early stages│
│              │ │              │ │of data       │
│              │ │              │ │analysis      │
└──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
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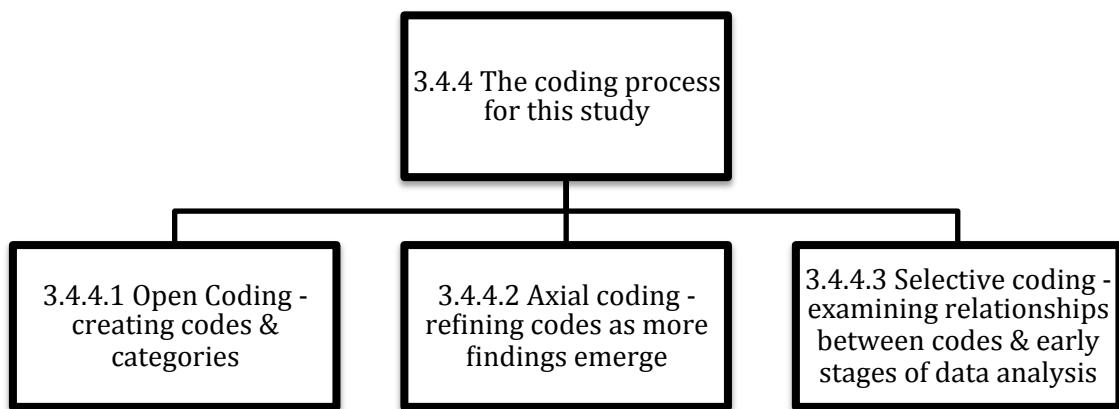
Diagram 8 – The three stages of coding used for this study

3.4.4.1 Open coding

The initial process of coding involved reading through the interview transcripts while simultaneously creating codes or 'Nodes', as referred to in Nvivo, for various categories. Julien (2008) suggests that when applying labels to categories, it is good practice to use language consistent with what used in the verbatims. While verbatims were not used, as the interviews were largely conducted in Hindi, code descriptions captured the essence of the texts contained with them and therefore attempted to "remain true to the

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source of the text" (Julien 2008). There was a total of main 31 'Nodes' in the coding frame, many of which included sub-categories *(see Appendix 8).*

It is said that, during the early stages of analysis, the data may seem flat and one-dimensional but gradually, through detailed readings, researchers may gain confidence that this contains enough material to warrant discovery and analysis (Charmaz & Bryant 2008). Hence some codes may begin to stand out as being significant as they begin to yield more "creative insights" (van Den Hoonard & van Den Hoonard 2008, p. 189). One example worth noting was the various attitudes towards 'ethical foods'. Although there were notes taken during the fieldwork, the range of perspectives started becoming more apparent when reading and coding the transcripts in more detail as some indicated *"if it was good for the earth I would consider that"* while others felt *"I care, he cares…I think we all care for the plight of farmers but the thing is we can't make a change".*

For this study, the process of identifying and calculating the number of codes and categories, through Nvivo, was made more convenient. Codes that were more central to the research question were assigned their own distinct colour which was purple. Codes that were considered to be 'influencing' codes i.e. those that provided some context behind participant attitudes or were considered influencing variables were assigned orange. Other codes were given their own colours based on overlapping themes such as 'Changing food habits' and 'Attitudes towards vegetarianism'. This was helpful in making patterns within the data more apparent visually.

3.4.4.2 Axial coding

The process of coding was not linear as codes and categories were often renamed, deleted, combined and broken down into smaller subcategories as new themes emerged during the process of data analysis. To this point, Benaquisto (2008) states that a coding frame, which emerges inductively from the data, is often subject to change and refinement as the researcher proceeds with successive phases through the data. It is also likely that pieces of text (e.g. sentences or paragraphs from an interview transcript) may be relevant to more than one category or theme (Julien 2008). An example of this, within this study, as follows:

Code:
'Definition of ethical foods: spontaneous'

Code:
'Attitudes towards vegetarianism'

"We tell our kids not to eat it (non veg foods)...but when the kids go to a hostel they see others doing it...so they start to eat a little bit. So they are punished at home"
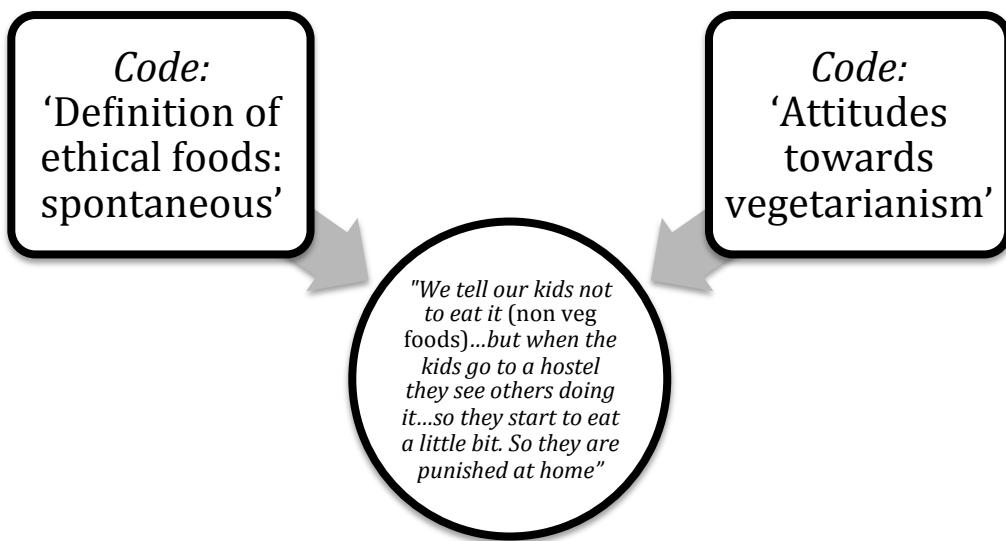
Diagram 9: An example of data that straddled two categories

The 'Definition of ethical food – spontaneous' and 'Attitudes towards vegetarianism' were two separate codes but shared common passages of text as vegetarian foods were discussed as being 'ethical foods' but also as a way of life for Hindu participants.

Furthermore, Groenewald (2008, p. 507) indicates it is feasible that codes, during the early stages, may appear "rather naive and erroneous", however, as the analysis progresses and there is an increase in clarity, it may result in changing, amending and/or extending existing codes as new perspectives and theories begin to emerge. One example worth highlighting was 'Pretence and ethical behaviour', a theme that captured discussions on differences in public and private behaviours such as conforming to culturally acceptable practices in public but doing something else *"in secret"* and *'away from your family"* which, brought a further layer of insight into the attitudes and behaviours relating to 'ethical foods'.

3.4.4.3 Selective coding

During the early stages of data analysis, it became apparent that it was important to make sense of "the manifest content (what people said) as well as the latent content (what it all might mean)" (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 134-135). This was especially so in a collectivist culture, like India, given the apparent differences between front-stage and backstage behaviour (Eckhardt & Houston 1998). Furthermore, Patton (2002, p. 479) states that when "the study of the data gives rise to ideas about causal linkages, there is no reason to deny those interested in the study's results the benefit of those insights" but it is important that these need to be qualified as interpretations and/or hypotheses. In addition, the data can be open to subjective interpretation as the text can reflect multiple meanings, as it is often context dependent or a reflection of a larger discourse (Julien 2008). Through the course of the data analysis, for this study, there were some categories that were not necessarily central to the research question but were useful in providing a deeper

understanding of what might have shaped attitudes towards ethical foods. Hence, discussions for this study were focused on understanding socio-cultural symbolisms (*"consider cows as God"*) and the hermeneutic interpretation of words, terms and their meanings (*"Ethical is something which is related to our culture…it belongs to our culture. That is why we use this term…the ethic term"*).

As relationships among categories began to gradually emerge, these were made note of and have also been highlighted in Chapter 4 (Research Findings). Some examples, with participant quotes in italics, are shown in the table below. Additional details on the analysis of relationships between multiple categories have been included in the next section of this chapter.

Codes that were central to the study	Codes that provided context or were hypothesized to influence attitudes
1. Key code: 'Definition of ethical foods – spontaneous' - *"If we talk about ethics, then Hindusim comes into it"*	1. Influencing code: 'Attitudes towards religion' - *"if a religion says do this and don't do this, a lot of people would just believe it"*
2. Key code: 'Ethical foods – what would encourage consideration and purchase' - *"Branded goods are more expensive but we trust them because they are better than others"*	2. Influencing code: 'Food preferences and habits' - *"I would prefer quality even if I'm getting a better price"*
3. Key code: 'Ethical foods – barriers to adoption' - *"It's difficult to trust something completely…no matter what it is"*	3. Influencing code: 'Perceived problems of Indian society in general' - *"There is adulteration in the food chain. The government just wants money"*

Table 5: Relationship between categories *Some examples of relationships among codes that were central to the research question and influencing codes that helped provide deeper context and meaning.*

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Once the coding frame was largely in place, an on-screen code review was shared with this study's supervisors and discussed before analysis commenced. Before analysis begins, Patton (2002, p. 497) advises getting a "sense of the whole" which involves doing a sense check of the data and quality of the information received. Apart from being conscious about some of the limitations, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 (Considerations & Future Directions), it was felt that there was adequate and diverse information gathered within the study's current parameters.

3.5 Data analysis

Data analysis may occur simultaneously or in parallel with the fieldwork process, and may often entail recurring phases of data collection, coding, memoing, and/or sorting (Groenewald 2008). This section details the approach behind the process of data analysis as well as some theoretical considerations that were used to guide this process.

3.5.1 Using the inductive approach

Theories and concepts for this study used an inductive approach as these were created using empirical data and evidence (Preissle 2008). Gordon & Langmaid (1998, p. 133) likened inductive data analysis to a "pattern of threads weaving through a piece of cloth" as the rolling hypothesis is continually being developed. This was done through what Mills (2008, p. 101) refers to as "constant comparative analysis" which meant taking a piece of data, such as a statement, an interview, or a theme, and comparing it with

other data, within the same group or across different groups, to identify similarities or differences, thereby building upon the rolling hypotheses.

On the other hand, Fox (2008, p. 430) states that as "induction involves inference, the outcome of inductive reasoning is never binding given that a contradictory case may always overturn the generalization. For instance, if it is argued inductively that all birds fly (based on a series of observations), this reasoning can be overturned when a single flightless bird is observed." However, that said, a key aspect of inductive analysis also involves "carefully examining deviate cases or data that don't fit the categories developed." (Patton 2002, p. 454) In fact, contradictory viewpoints may compel the revision of theory and, subsequently that theory may then be re-created to adequately represent all relevant known phenomena (Preissle 2008). One example worth mentioning was the traditional and contemporary viewpoints towards religious associations with ethical foods where some felt *"you are having non-veg but this is not written in Hinduism or any Hindu holy book. So this is…wrong food",* while others claimed, *"I don't follow all this stuff".* Contradictory perspectives, like these, were assigned their own codes and categories as these, together with the other themes, presented a more holistic perspective on the topic being discussed and also helped build the framework for Chapter 4 (Research Findings).

Patton (2002, p. 454) claims that once patterns, themes and relationships have been established through inductive analysis, the final, confirmatory stage may be "deductive in testing", thereby affirming the authenticity and appropriateness of the inductive analysis. This may be supported through triangulation with other data sources, previous research, knowledge or experience (Preissle 2008). For this study, getting context

behind the larger social issues, through triangulation, proved to be extremely useful as many social constructivists describe the validity of their studies as being dependent upon how their findings might resonate with the broader common discourses of the community (Miller 2008). For example, additional data sources, as discussed in an earlier section on data triangulation, provided information on the numerous and widespread food contamination scandals in India that have pushed the issue of health and safety to the forefront (Roy & Agarwal 2013) which may, in turn, have also resulted in 'ethical' food practices being given more significance among the participants in this study.

3.5.2 Analysis of context and meaning

Further to understanding meaning, Patton (2002, p. 497) discusses the hermeneutic circle of interpretation where every interpretation is dependent on other interpretations and is "like a series of dolls that fit one inside the other" thereby raising the question as to how and where does one break into the circle of interpretation. One way forward, as suggested by Packer & Addison (1989, p.23), is beginning with an "everyday participatory understanding of people and events". While data triangulation helped provide some of this, data gathered from within this study itself on the broader issues and challenges such as children's exposure to *"salted foods, soft drinks"*, *"mass production and chemicals used"*, *"home cooked foods"*, *"adulteration"*, *"black money"*, *"peer pressure"* and eating *"on the sly"* also proved useful. These provided insight into how the core subject of 'ethical foods' was perceived and, on the back of this, hypothetical causal frameworks were put together. This has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 (Research Findings) and Chapter 5 (Discussion).

When drawing relationships between cause and effect, the researcher constantly moves back and forth between "the circularities and interdependencies of human activity and our need for linear, ordered statements of cause-effect" (Patton 2002, p. 480). That said, when drawing conclusions from the analysis, Patton (2002, p. 480) suggests three things that are important and these include - a) confirming what has been supported by the data (e.g: general unfamiliarity and lack of awareness relating to ethical foods as seen in this study); b) highlighting any misconceptions (e.g: in this study, trust was a common concern as some are suspicious about "ethical" claims) and c) highlighting important aspects that were not known but are important to know (e.g: in this study, it seems that consumption behaviours may differ based on whether one is in a public or private setting).

Furthermore to increase transferability, Jensen (2008) states that qualitative researchers should focus on two key considerations: (a) how closely are the participants linked to the context being studied, and (b) the contextual boundaries of the findings. For the first consideration, the participants, who were residents of Gurgaon and New Delhi, were relevant members of the wider community i.e. the Indian urban middle class. The other consideration was met through obtaining information on broader social issues that provided a framework for understanding perceptions, as discussed in some detail in this chapter. After all, "it is the researcher's responsibility to paint a full picture of the context and then allow the reader to determine if the work is transferable to their context" (Jensen 2008, p. 887).

3.5.3 Validity and Reliability in qualitative data analysis

Meaning is often subjective as a single piece of text can be open to different interpretations by different researchers (Gordon & Langmaid 1988). Hence it is due to this multiplicity of paradigms that Miller (2008, p. 910) suggests that it may be "overly simplistic" to have global criteria for qualitative validity. Similarly, reliability may also be best approached on a case-by-case basis (Miller 2008). That said, validity and reliability are key to robust content analysis, and the researcher may seek to build credibility by conducting iterative analyses, seeking negative or contradictory examples, examining data through methodological triangulation, and providing supporting examples for conclusions drawn (Julien 2008). These approaches, as discussed previously in this chapter, were attempted to be incorporated into the data analysis process for this study.

In addition, a key factor relevant to the issue of 'trustworthiness' is also reflexivity, which is the researchers' examination of how they might have influenced a research outcome (Dowling 2008). This is because researchers need to be mindful of the perspectives they may bring to their analytic work (Julien 2008). For this study, the meaning of the term 'ethical foods' was explored through unprompted, spontaneous discussions that also sought to understand broader social contexts within which this term was constructed. However, as this was a new topic, the discussion also required some researcher-directed questions (Whiteley 2004) in order to take the first step to break into the hermeneutic circle of cultural interpretation (Patton (2002). Using additional qualitative methodology, cost and time permitting, to understand how meanings might have been constructed and defined in everyday practice (Saumure & Given 2008) may have added a new

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perspective on researcher reflexivity. That said, care was taken to ensure that data analysis, in this study, included the following - viewpoints that were central to the study's objectives, data that was of secondary importance but relevant to the overall findings and also what was not present in the text being analysed (Julien 2008) e.g. low levels of awareness and knowledge about the concept of 'ethical foods', which was a finding in itself.

An audit trail is also deemed to be a key part of the process to help build trustworthiness, credibility and authenticity (Miller 2008). It comprises of notes about data collection experiences, documentation of changes in design and memos generated during data analysis (Rodgers 2008). These have been provided in appendices for this chapter.

3.5.4 Subjectivity in the analysis

The subjectivistic tendency in qualitative research means the researcher constructs an impression of the world as he or she sees it and this means there might be prejudgment to understanding an entity as one may already have one's own presuppositions, perceptions and constructions of reality (Ratner 2008). This was especially relevant for this study because, as a researcher from the same cultural background, there was a need to be constantly mindful of pre-existing biases. Due to the possibility of misinterpreting or confounding the data it was important to eliminate, or at least constrain, subjectivity during the process of inquiry (Siegesmund 2008).

On the other hand, Gordon & Langmaid (1988, p. 140) state "Subjectivity is *not* a dirty word, but an inherent part of the qualitative process." This is because when researchers make an interpretation of what

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they see, hear and understand, their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history and prior understandings (Creswell 2009). Hence, rather than seeking to standardize interview procedures so that any neutral researcher might gain the same results, qualitative researchers, together with their research participants, are commonly depicted as co-authors of reality rather than presenting themselves as detached investigators (Miller 2008). Furthermore, Miller (2008, p. 754) also emphasizes that qualitative research, in most cases, ascribes to a notion of subjectivity that is markedly different from an unsupported and "haphazard subjectivity", as it actually emerges from the intersection of the researchers' and the participants' unique identities, beliefs, ideas, passions, and actions.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The research plan for this study was submitted to and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Curtin University of Technology. During the recruitment process, each participant was informed of the purpose of this study *(as stated in Appendix 2)*, which was communicated to them by the recruiting agency. The recruitment proceeded only once the participant was informed about and satisfied with the requirements of the study. Individual participant details were provided on the recruitment form and their names and other details have been kept in a secure place, separate to the transcripts, which may, later, be submitted to Curtin University as part of the data storage procedure. All participant information, across both the transcripts and the results for this study, was treated in a non-identifiable and confidential manner.

Chapter 4 – Research Findings

This chapter includes the research findings and aims to answer this study's objectives – what are urban Indian middle-class attitudes like towards ethical foods, and what might influence these attitudes? The key findings revealed that certain foods, perceived to reflect one's socio-cultural beliefs and customs, were largely associated with 'ethical foods'. In addition, awareness of foods that offered social and environmental benefits was generally low or, in some cases, non-existent. When discussing these concepts in more detail, there was a range of different attitudes that emerged, with some being favourable towards the concept of environmentally friendly foods while others were less so for various reasons, as detailed in this chapter.

Organising and writing the findings for this chapter

The process of brainstorming, which includes creating, developing and organising the writing (Boylorn 2008), began by revisiting the research objectives and using these as an anchor to plan and shape the structure of this chapter. Although the focus group discussions did not follow a structured format of questioning, the presentation of findings in this chapter adopts the pyramid approach, with points that are most relevant to the research question being covered first and the rest of the chapter then being filled in with important details, background and context. Reporting these results meant including rich "descriptions and themes from the data" and presenting them in a way that conveyed the multiple perspectives of participants (Creswell 2009, p. 193). An example worth highlighting was the different terms given to various sub-groups of participants, based upon their attitudes towards

ethical foods, as presented in more detail later in this chapter. The findings in this chapter reflect the participants' own words and have been accompanied by detailed descriptions to provide the reader with full account of the context (Patton 2002; Julien 2008).

Presentation of information in this chapter

Each finding in this chapter is accompanied by participant quotations. These have been written in *italics* and have quotation marks. They are also normally presented as bullet points below the findings, although some might be incorporated as italic text with quotations within the paragraph. Many sections also summarise information through diagrams to display relationships and hierarchies. The more common ones, in this chapter, have been shown below:

- **Tree diagram:** Demonstrates various sub-themes that are part of one theme.

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                    ┌───────────┐
                    │ Key theme │
                    └─────┬─────┘
        ┌───────────┬─────┴─────┬───────────┐
   ┌────┴────┐ ┌────┴────┐ ┌────┴────┐ ┌────┴────┐
   │  Sub-   │ │  Sub-   │ │  Sub-   │ │  Sub-   │
   │  theme  │ │  theme  │ │  theme  │ │  theme  │
   └─────────┘ └─────────┘ └─────────┘ └─────────┘
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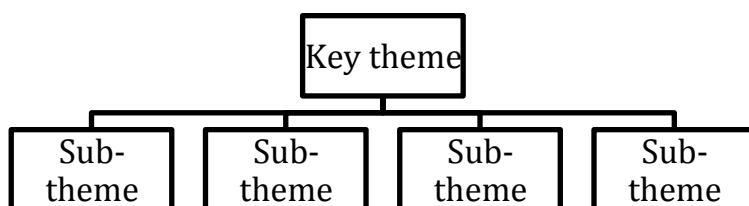
- **Relationship diagram:** Demonstrates various factors that might influence a particular attitude or phenomena.

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              ┌───────────┐
              │ Influence │
              └─────┬─────┘
                    │
  ┌───────────┐     ▼     ┌───────────┐
  │ Influence │───▶ ◯ ◀───│ Influence │
  └───────────┘  Attitude └───────────┘
```
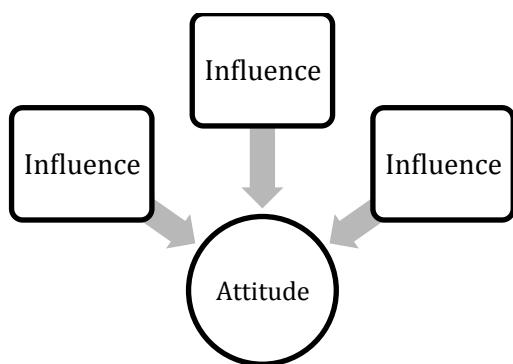
Structure of the chapter

This chapter has been organised into four sections, shown below. The first two sections cover attitudes and perceptions relating to ethical foods. The next two sections discuss likely influences behind these attitudes and perceptions. The various headings and sub-headings in each section are numbered accordingly and follow the format of a report.

Organisation of Chapter 4 – Research Findings	
Participant perceptions and attitudes towards ethical foods	Section 1 4.1: Spontaneous perceptions and definitions of ethical foods.
	Section 2 4.2: Attitudes towards specific types of ethical foods that offer social and environmental benefits.
Influences behind attitudes and perceptions of ethical foods	Section 3 4.3: Influences on spontaneous perceptions and definitions of 'ethical foods'.
	Section 4 4.4: Factors that influenced attitudes towards ethical foods that offered social and environmental benefits.

SECTION 1

4.1: Spontaneous perceptions and definitions of ethical foods

This section details participant perceptions and their own subjective views, opinions and definitions of ethical foods. As part of the discussion, participants were asked to spontaneously describe what the term 'ethical foods' really meant to them, and there was a wide range of definitions that emerged. Many described 'ethical foods' as being associated with their religion and culture, some even considered these to be foods that offered health benefits and others felt the term 'ethical foods' was subjective, based upon one's own views and choices. These responses have been summarised in the diagram below:
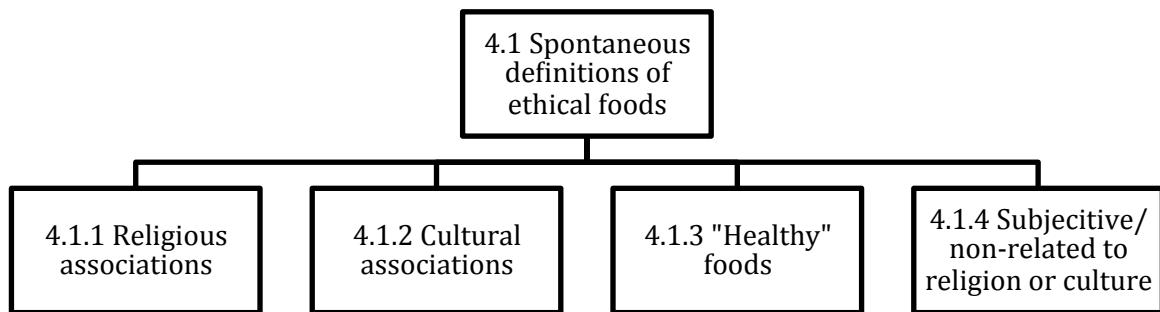
__Diagram 10: Summary of perceptions and definitions of ethical foods among participants__

4.1.1. Religious associations with ethical foods

Religion was widely associated with the term 'ethical foods', as reflected, below, in this quote from a participant.

- *"what sort of foods do we consider ethical? If we talk about ethics, then Hinduism comes into it".*

The two religious groups included in this research were Hindus, who form the majority of India's population (80.5%), and Muslims, who form the second largest group (13.5%) (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). These two groups, based on their religious beliefs, had different views on the types of foods they would consider 'ethical' - as summarised below:

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┌─────────────────────┐
│  4.1.1 Religious     │
│  associations with   │
│  ethical foods       │
└─────────────────────┘
     │          │
┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
│4.1.1.1   │  │4.1.1.2   │
│Hindu     │  │Muslim    │
│perspectives│ │perspectives│
└──────────┘  └──────────┘
```
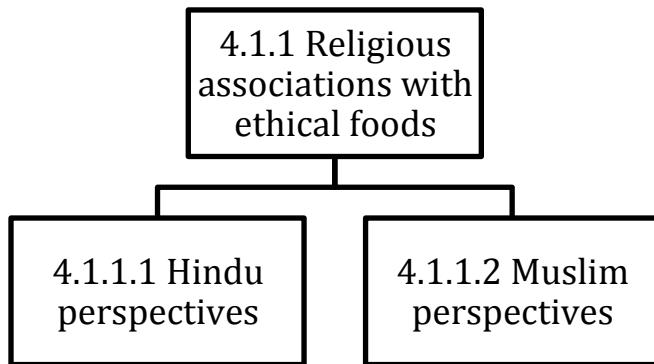
Diagram 11 - Ethical foods and religious perspectives

4.1.1.1 Hindu perspectives – "there are different sectors in Hinduism…each of them have different perspectives"

Given the diverse sects and branches of Hinduism, there appeared to be a wide range of definitions relating to ethical foods.

- *"there are different sectors in Hinduism…each of them have different perspectives & how they worship their gods and what they eat".*

Vegetarian food was a common theme. However, different Hindu participants had different views relating to vegetarianism, and these have been summarised in the diagram below:

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  4.1.1.1 Hindu      │
                    │  perspectives       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
         ┌──────────────┬─────────┴─────────┬──────────────┐
┌────────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ 4.1.1.1.1 Have │ │ 4.1.1.1.2    │ │ 4.1.1.1.3 Meat│ │ 4.1.1.1.4    │
│ no "choice"    │ │ Vegetarianism│ │ as part of   │ │ Traditional  │
│                │ │ vs. "killing"│ │ certain customs│ │ social protocols│
└────────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
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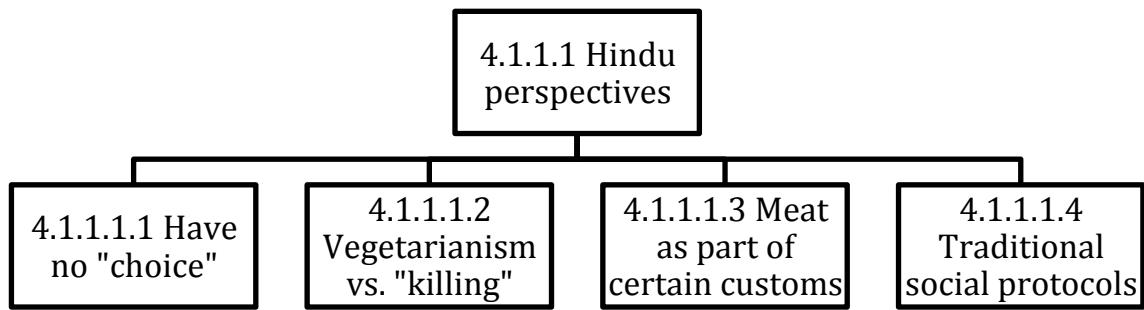
Diagram 12 - Hindu perspectives on vegetarianism and its association with ethical foods

4.1.1.1.1 "people are veg not out of choice" - bound by Hinduism

Some claimed to be vegetarian because they felt compelled to adhere to Hindu religious customs and practices.

- *"A lot of people are veg not out of choice but because they follow Hinduism. And because they are Hindus they have to be veg"*
- *"this* (reference to meat) *is not written in Hinduism or any Hindu holy book. So this is…wrong food"*
- *"Because Indian culture is like that…we are always provided with vegetarian food. Most of the Hindu people are vegetarian"*

4.1.1.1.2 The concept of vegetarianism vs. "killing" in Hinduism

For others, the act of "killing" or "murdering" a living being was considered "wrong" according to Hindu teachings.

- *"in our Bhagvad Gita, Ramayan* (Hindu holy books) *there are old teachings…non veg is impure. It is the food of demons/monsters"*

- *"it has been said since the old days that one must not eat non-veg foods. Some people see it as not murdering or killing anything"*

- *"as a vegetarian you're not killing the plant you're just taking what the plant is offering you"*

Furthermore, it was unanimously stated that the consumption of beef, in particular, was prohibited as cows and their produce are considered sacred.

- *"Hindus generally don't eat beef. And the reason is because they consider cows as God, sacred"*
- *"If we were to kill and eat what we pray to, then our sense of humanity will end"*
- *"It is sacred because when you worship a God they used to pour the cow's milk on the statue as an offering"*

4.1.1.1.3 Meat only allowed as part of certain Hindu customs

Some participants claimed that meat was a part of certain Hindu customs and rituals, although the consumption of meat was accompanied by prayer and reverence shown towards the animal.

- *"Like my dad's family, if they are praying to God, it's customary for them to use meat and they do all this puja* (prayer) *to the goat or lamb before they actually consume it."*

4.1.1.1.4 Traditional social protocols in Hinduism

Vegetarian foods were also mentioned in the context of traditional Hindu occasions, where there is some form of prayer involved. These included temple visits, festivals, weddings and funerals:

- *"before you go to the temple you're not supposed to eat meat or if there is a particular occasion, like a religious function you are not supposed to eat meat"*
- *"special occasions like Pongol, Diwali we don't eat non vegetarian stuff"*
- *"it's only vegetarian in traditional Hindu weddings because it's culture…meat is considered like a bad thing"*
- *"if there is a death in the family don't consume non veg that's the big rule"*

4.1.1.2 Muslim perspectives – "halal" foods

Muslim participants, in this study, defined 'ethical foods' as 'halal' foods. However, like the Hindu participants, Muslim participants also expressed different reasons for the consumption of halal foods, as summarised in the diagram below.
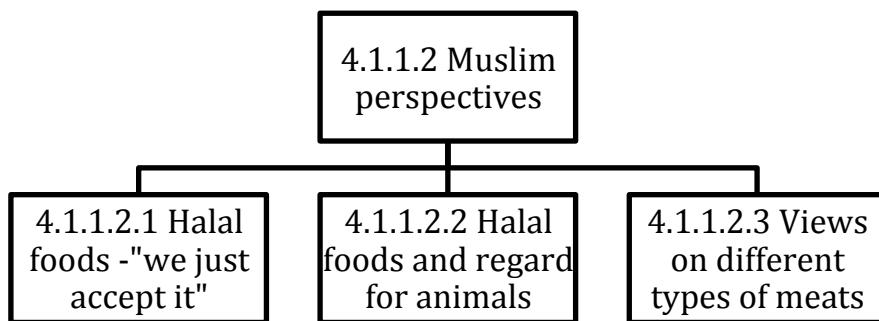
Diagram 13 - Muslim perspectives on ethical foods

4.1.1.2.1 Halal foods – "we just accept it"

Similar to the point made previously, where some Hindu participants claimed that being vegetarian was a religious obligation and hence it was *"not out of choice"*, some Muslim participants also mentioned an unquestioning adherence to religious practices, when asked to discuss why halal foods were considered 'ethical'.

- *"We don't know the actual details about that...we've been told that by our saints etc what they preach we just accept it"*
- *"That's all there is...that we can eat halal that's all there is!"*

When asked about animal welfare and its association with halal, some Muslim participants felt this issue was not really of concern to them as it was more of a matter of adhering to religious customs and tradition.

- *"See we don't have that mindset that these animals are being treated well or badly or anything....so that is why we are having this and that is why it is a good thing, it is just a mindset for us that is all...we don't prefer halal because the animals are being treated well or badly that is not the case for us...we just have it!"*

4.1.1.2.2 Halal foods and regard for animals

On the other hand, some stated that regard for an animal was a key component of Islam and this was a factor behind the concept of halal foods.

- *"It is forbidden to kill someone disrespectfully in Islam"*
- *"Islam says that to harass any creature that is sick is very wrong"*
- *"Mustn't make them suffer...that is forbidden"*

4.1.1.2.3 Types of meat and religious ethics in Islam

In addition, a few also mentioned that there are restrictions on the types of meats that can and cannot be consumed, according to Islam.

- *"We also can't eat all animals...cows, bulls, goats, fish and those small birds that you see during the evenings...that we can eat...rabbit... but we can't eat everything...it's forbidden"*

4.1.2 Cultural associations with ethical foods

In addition to religion, many also defined ethical foods as being *"whatever is good according to our social customs"*. The two key cultural associations with ethical foods were broadly defined as follows:

- Foods associated with one's social caste
- Foods associated with the state that one is from

Diagram 14 - Ethical foods and its cultural associations

4.1.2.1 Social caste and ethical foods - "eating this meat is not permitted among Brahmins"

The caste system seemed to set clear boundaries as to what made certain foods ethical and others not.

- *"See Brahmins don't have non veg. If they eat it then it is considered wrong. As in it's against their caste. There are different things in every caste."*

Some participants from the Brahmin caste mentioned that they face great pressure to adhere to their caste norms as there can be dire consequences for not doing so.

- *"eating this meat is not permitted among Brahmins. On this matter, marriages can be stopped. And Brahmins only get married to Brahmins. Something like this could affect the entire family and their children and their children's children"*

An example of this social pressure was recounted by a male Brahmin participant in the group where, on one occasion, he was apparently traumatised after discovering that he accidently ate meat.

- *"I didn't know, it happened by accident and nobody told me. So when I realised I started vomiting. And it didn't happen just at that particular time. It happened two days after eating it!"*

4.1.2.2 The state and ethical foods - "the food of one's own state is ethical food"

Practically every state in India has its own unique culture and traditions. Given this diversity, many participants seemed to identify with their own state's

social customs, and therefore the definition of ethical food was seen to vary depending upon which part of India one belonged to.

- *"If we talk about Bengal…then over there rice or fish is their ethical food. Then if we talk about North India, then it's the full Indian thaali – daal, rice and vegetables"*
- *"There are similarities across states too…whatever is their tradition that becomes their ethical food."*

4.1.3 Ethical foods are "healthy foods"

Besides religious and socio-cultural associations, many also perceived ethical foods to be *"healthy foods"*. In fact, when asked about the definition of ethical foods, some felt - *"It needs to be healthy first, that's the most important"*. During the discussions, there was a range of different definitions relating to this theme. The sub-theme - 'Health-related definitions' - covers factors relating to food health and safety. The other sub-theme - 'Cultural dimensions of health' - covers cultural beliefs that straddled ethical and healthy perceptions. This has been summarised in the diagram below:

```
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │ 4.1.3 "Healthy" │
                    │ associations with│
                    │  ethical foods  │
                    └────────┬────────┘
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
     ┌────────────────┐           ┌────────────────┐
     │ 4.1.3.1 Health-│           │ 4.1.3.2 Cultural│
     │    related     │           │   dimensions   │
     │  definitions   │           │                │
     └────────────────┘           └────────────────┘
```

┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│   4.1.3.1.1   │   │   4.1.3.2.1   │
│   "Organic"   │   │   "Ayurvedic"   │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│   4.1.3.1.2   │   │   4.1.3.2.2   │
│ "Natural" "Pure" │   │ "Vegetarian"   │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│   4.1.3.1.3   │   │   4.1.3.2.3   │
│   "Homemade"   │   │ "Balanced diet" │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
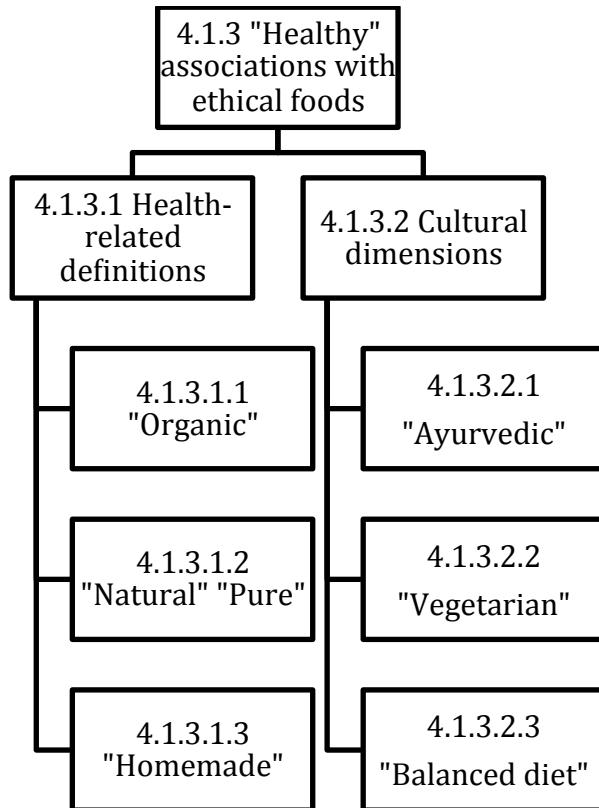
Diagram 15 – Ethical foods are "healthy foods"

This shows two streams of definitions associated with health. One was mainly associated with physiological health-related benefits. The other reflected cultural beliefs & perceptions relating to health.

4.1.3.1 Health-related definitions of "ethical foods"

This theme covers the health and safety benefits of certain foods that appeared to give them an 'ethical' bent. It comprises the following sub-themes:

- 4.1.3.1.1 - Organic foods and the lack of pesticides
- 4.1.3.1.2 - "Natural" foods that are not adulterated or contaminated
- 4.1.3.1.3 – "Home made" foods and their perceived benefits

4.1.3.1.1 Organic foods - "ethical foods, they don't have pesticides"

Given widespread concerns relating to chemicals and pesticides in foods, it appears that ethical foods were defined as organic foods because they were seen to be a solution to current problems relating to food health and safety.

- *"Yes I think it would cover…that which is ethical foods, they don't have pesticides"*
- *"if you prescribe organic then the use of chemicals and fertilizers will stop and therefore it will stop polluting the earth and animals, and we will look after ourselves also and the planet"*
- *"if there is original organic food, we will prefer that… with that our moral outlook increases and their torturing decreases"*

4.1.3.1.2 "natural", "pure" foods

Ethical foods were also considered to be natural, pure and fresh foods given the perceived problems with artificial foods and food adulteration.

- *"Artificial foods aren't good, the best are natural foods"*
- *"Because it's pure, it's made from the earth. These days nothing is pure"*

In addition, some perceived "artificial" foods as going against the laws of nature, and hence the concept itself was considered as "unethical" when compared with 'natural' and therefore ethical foods.

- *"it's a general belief in India, anything out of the ordinary is not natural…they also might be adding something that might be harmful to you"*
- *"Take genetically modified foods, if you take 2 things and mix it…that's not the way we've been taught. It's playing with nature if you know what I*

mean…it is not passed generation from generation…you don't know what the side effects are in the long term…so in their perspective it is unethical, it is not passed down from generation so for that community it is considered unethical…for many communities it is not just about health, it is a belief system"

4.1.3.1.3 "Homemade" food - "that care factor exists"

It appears that ethical foods were also associated with "homemade" foods because they offered a dual benefit of looking after one's health, and there was the perception of 'love' and the 'care factor' associated with such foods.

- *"At home we know how it is being prepared...so outside we don't know how it is being prepared...some ingredients they use could be harmful for us"*
- *"we've made it using less ghee…and I feel this sense of satisfaction when I offer it to someone, to children or to someone else…I've added more vegetables which are of good quality…I feel satisfied"*
- *"And there's love involved when making them…that care factor exists…that also disappears* (when eating out)"

Some Muslim participants mentioned 'homemade' foods for religious reasons. They expressed concerns about certain cooking utensils and oils used in restaurants to prepare foods, which made this an ethical issue for them from a religious standpoint.

- *Because they can change their variety* (of foods*)….but those items, their tools can't be changed…so everything is cooked in those pans…the things which we can't eat, those people cook them with everything else.....that is why we cook at home"*

- *"when we go out….those pans used to cook beef are used to cook everything else…so that shouldn't be eaten"*

4.1.3.2 Cultural dimensions of health

This was the other sub-theme that came under "Healthy" associations with ethical foods. This category comprises cultural beliefs underlying the health-related associations with ethical foods, and are as follows:

- 4.1.3.2.1 – "Ayurvedic" food and its holistic approach to health
- 4.1.3.2.2 – "Vegetarian" food and beliefs about health
- 4.1.3.2.3 - A "balanced diet" and cultural beliefs

4.1.3.2.1 "Ayurvedic food because it has natural things"

Ayurveda is a traditional natural medicine that has been used in India for centuries and it is seen to offer "a holistic approach to health" (Krishnan 2014, para. 1). Ethical foods were associated with 'Ayurvedic' foods as these appeared to offer the dual benefits of both health and traditional appeal.

- *"we have been following Ayurvedic tradition for generations so that is why we like Ayurvedic food because it has natural things"*

Baba Ramdev, a revered public figure, was also mentioned within the context of 'Ayurvedic' foods. His foods were defined as ethical foods because of their Ayurvedic ingredients, the associations with the Hindu holy place of 'Hardwar' and the perception that these foods did not have a commercial bent to them and this has, hence, helped foster public trust in such foods.

- *"Baba Ramdev is Ayurvedic so we very much follow the Ayurvedic things……… this is the reason why we believe in Ramdev's products. They are traditional, handmade and it has Ayurvedic ingredients. So that is the reason why we follow him. This the main thing"*

- *"It is sold in Hardwar…medicines comes from there, Ayurveda comes from there"*

- *"You get in the shops too…in malls, you'll get in this store nearby too. It's a big deal that it's not commercial"*

4.1.3.2.2 "Vegetarian foods" and its influences on the "mind" and "emotions"

Although vegetarian food was mentioned in the context of religion, some also discussed vegetarian food within the context of ethical foods and health due to their perceived positive effects upon the body and mind.

- *"Like you see when it comes to eat meat, there are physical differences and non-physical differences…it influences your mind, emotions, creates differences….this is one of the reasons why they don't eat meat… it causes negative energy, these sorts of foods cause negative energy within you"*

- *"You don't feel sleepy…one's mind remains alert, it's good for the health. This feeling of fullness/heaviness doesn't come."*

4.1.3.2.3 A "balanced diet" and "belief"

Some also associated ethical foods with the concept of a balanced diet, which appeared to be influenced by cultural beliefs.

- *"every food the way it is made is meant to complement each other in different combinations, and throughout the week you have a complete balanced diet....I don't know the science behind it but it has been passed on from grandmother to mother and so I've heard about it but I can't substantiate it with any proof. This is just my belief system"*
- *"that is a good diet, a balanced diet. Everything has the right quantities, whatever it is it needs to be eaten in the right quantities."*

4.1.4 Definition of "ethical foods" is subjective

Some participants did not quite agree with traditional guidelines being used to define "ethical foods" as they felt this definition was subjective and based upon individual choices and beliefs. The views expressed by these participants were as follows:

- *"I think it differs according to people's opinions...according to my mom I'm not supposed to eat onion, garlic and all these things but according to me my ethics says that onion, garlic are fine...so it varies according to the person"*
- *"food shouldn't be related to tradition...people should eat what they like"*

In fact, when discussing the association between ethical foods and religion, some participants expressed scepticism.

- *"I believe that religion is only a set of protocols made to create some kind of organised following to keep people in line. So that's how I see it. Like my*

grandfather was fanatic about it and used to force us to eat certain stuff and not eat others…and I didn't like eating some of that stuff so I used to fight with my grandparents, telling them don't upset me it's up to me!"

4.1.5 Some contradictions between public and private behaviours

While religion and culture were highlighted as having an important role in defining the meaning of 'ethical foods', some mentioned contradictions between certain cultural norms and actual individual behaviours.

- *"In India there are a lot of restrictions, so if someone is doing something bad they will probably want to hide it from their home"*
- *"In the times of holy men & Brahmins….it's not like they don't like eggs or meat…in front of people they will behave….On the quiet/sly… they will smoke and drink"*

In fact, for some, there was almost a sense of being caught in the middle while being compelled to adhere to such norms and expectations.

- *"You eat it* (meat/non vegetarian foods) *in secret, away from your family"*

4.1.6 Some differences noted across religions

Some of the practices of Islam appeared to be at odds with Hindu participants and vice versa. Among several Hindu participants, the Islamic practice of having different types of meat was viewed with some revulsion. During the course of the discussions, some Hindu participants expressed disgust – *"yuck!"* – when discussing Muslim practices of consuming *"buffalo meat"* in *"Mecca, Medina"*. Some also felt - *"meat from cows, buffaloes…this is spoiling our tradition…this type of meat that is being sold in the markets these days!"*

In comparison, while Hindu participants appeared to revere Baba Ramdev, many Muslim participants viewed him quite differently.

- *"That Baba Ramdev, he uses cow urine in his products that is why we don't use them (participants laugh)"*
- *"Yes we don't do these dirty things...as in during 'Namaaz' even if we were to get even an ant on our clothes, we don't pray"*

4.1.7 Summary - spontaneous definitions of ethical food

Spontaneous definitions and perceptions relating to the term 'ethical foods' straddled three broad areas – religious associations, cultural associations and health-related associations. From a religious standpoint, the two groups – Hindus and Muslims – had different definitions of the term 'ethical foods'. On the other hand, there were some who were not inclined towards religious and customary protocols, and did not perceive 'ethical foods' as having any associations with religion or socio-cultural traditions. The other point, worth highlighting here, is the apparent difference between public and private behaviours where, it seemed, being seen to conform to social expectations might have been more important than following one's own beliefs and, hence, one's behaviour might be expected to vary depending upon the social circumstances. This has been explored in more detail further on in this chapter. The next section will cover participant attitudes towards specific types of ethical foods, which offered social and/or environmental benefits.

SECTION 2

4.2 Attitudes towards ethical foods that offered social and environmental benefits

Having explored participants' own definitions and meanings of the term 'ethical foods', this section covers attitudes towards specific types of ethical foods, presented as part of the discussion. These included the following:

- The general concept of foods that offered wider environmental and/or social benefits
- Animal welfare foods
- Fair trade foods
- Foods with environmentally friendly packaging

When the general topic of socially and environmentally friendly foods was brought up, the low level of awareness and knowledge relating to this concept was immediately apparent. This was found across practically all the groups, irrespective of their age, religion or gender.

- *"I'm not really aware of these foods…currently we don't have that kind of awareness"*
- *"at the moment nobody is aware of where to get these foods"*
- *"All I'm seeing is what I'm getting...we are not aware of it"*

However, when discussing these concepts in more detail, with specific examples that were presented to the participants, there was a range of attitudes that emerged. These have been classified into the following three typologies:

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Attitudes towards  │
                    │ foods that offer    │
                    │ social &            │
                    │ environmental       │
                    │ benefits            │
                    └─────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
   ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
   │ 'Considerers'│ │ 'Ambivalent' │ │The 'Less Interested'│
   └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
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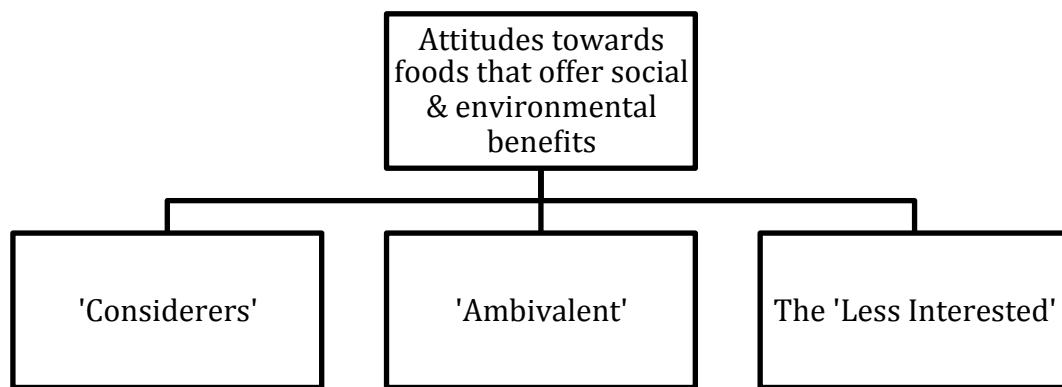
Diagram 16 - Ethical foods and its three consumer typologies

The three typologies that emerged when defining attitudes towards socially and environmentally friendly foods

- **'Considerers'** seemed most favourable towards the concept. These participants found the idea of a common good that benefitted multiple stakeholders to be appealing - *"Whatever is good for your planet, whatever is good for your atmosphere…and whatever is good for the animals you will buy that only. You will consider it, people will"*
- **The 'Ambivalent'** seemed interested but had questions and reservations - *"How do we know if what we're seeing is the truth or a lie?"*
- **The 'Less Interested'** were least engaged with this concept and tended to find this largely irrelevant to them - *"nobody cares about what's ethical or ethical food…at least from our perspective"*

4.2.1 Attitudes towards animal welfare foods

Following on from the general concept of socially and environmentally beneficial foods, participants were asked about their opinions relating to animal welfare foods where free range foods and the ethical treatment of animals were discussed. There was a mixed range of attitudes, and these have been summarised in the diagram below:

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│  4.2.1 Animal welfare │
│        foods         │
└─────────────────────┘
```

| 4.2.1.1 'Considerers' - "We want them to be treated properly" | 4.2.1.2 'Ambivalent' - "as long as you don't see it" | 4.2.1.3 The 'Less Interested' - "whatever suits your lifestyle" |
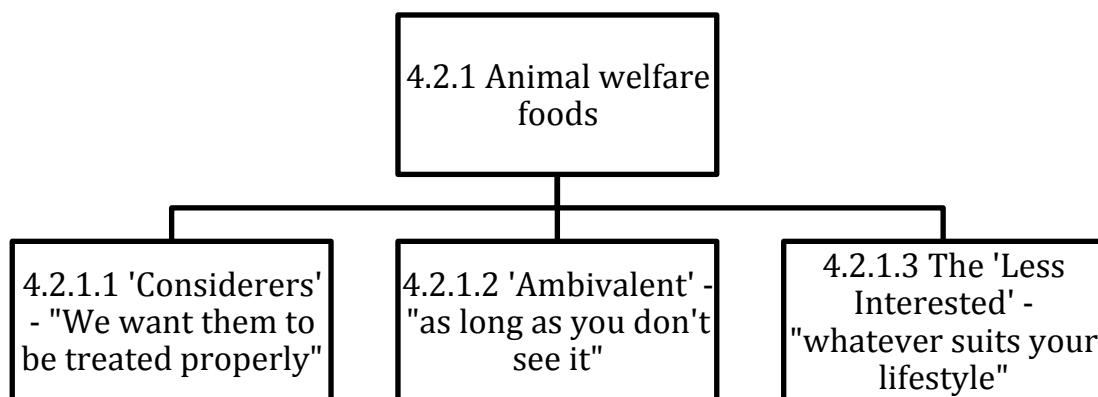
Diagram 17 - Attitudes towards animal welfare foods across the three typologies

4.2.1.1 'Considerers' – "We want them to be treated properly"

These participants seemed interested in the general concept of animal welfare, and liked the idea of foods where animals were not mistreated as part of the production process.

- *"I would prefer them* (animal welfare foods) *knowing that the animals are not being harmed"*
- *"I don't buy it* (referring to animal welfare foods) *currently...but after I get satisfied that it is beneficial for me also, but also for the health of the animals, environment also then I will buy"*
- *"We want them to be treated properly"*

- *"I've seen some videos where chickens are bred in a very bad environment so that's unethical!"*

For others, concerns relating to animal welfare appeared to be partially influenced by religious reasons.

- *"they even slaughtered sick animals...I felt very sad hearing about this…that these are sick animals...so this shouldn't happen that sick animals were forcibly dragged and slaughtered…It is forbidden to slaughter sick animals in Islam"*
- *"Dragging these sick animals and slaughtering them isn't right"*

Some expressed concerns about the impact of chemicals in the food chain, upon the consumer, and hence the issue of animal welfare appeared to be related to this.

- *"See chickens grow up very quickly anyway, in 2-3 months they grow from this size to this size (gestures). In 3 years, they start getting sick...these medicines they give them, they are poison for human beings...I've read this in the papers when cows don't give milk, they start injecting them...we mustn't drink that milk, throw it in the drain. Have water instead but don't drink this type of milk"*

A conversation, among a few participants, relating to animal welfare, disease and the impact on human consumption was as follows:

- *"Yes...they put them* (referring to chickens) *in the cage, one by one...fill up the cages...this shouldn't happen"*
- *"Because they benefit from this and get more money...they don't think that these are healthy and these aren't"*
- *"So many of their feathers just fall in clumps...seeing that one doesn't feel like eating them!"*

4.2.1.2 The 'Ambivalent' - "as long as you don't see it"

While these participants were not comfortable with the idea of "cruelty" to animals, they seemed to take more of a passive stance on the issue. For them, it was more a matter of out of sight, out of mind.

- *"like chickens, even you know there is cruelty towards animals, as long as you don't see it then it is ok."*
- *"if somebody tells you this company slaughters animals like this to prepare the meat then it becomes a big issue"*
- *"See if you don't see the animal being slaughtered and just the cooked food you don't care"*

Problems with corruption and the lack of transparency relating to food practices also seemed to raise some questions about welfare foods.

- *"we don't know about that...where they get their animals from, we don't know about that...we only get to know about what's brought out in front of us...that's all, where they've got their animals from that we don't know"*
- *"How will we get to know what kinds of eggs are they supplying?"*

Several participants claimed that "extra" checks and balances would be needed if such foods were to be sold in India.

- *"It can work in India but you need extra rules over here to see that it is carried out properly"*

4.2.1.3 The 'Less Interested' - "makes sense to adapt to whatever suits your lifestyle"

These participants felt the topic of 'animal welfare' was not quite relevant, and some even seemed to think of the concept as not really making a

"difference". Others stated their own lifestyles and conveniences as being of priority to them and, hence, such issues were of less importance.

- *"I don't ask questions in the shop if this company slaughters animals, I mean don't know….it makes sense to adapt to whatever suits your lifestyle"*
- *"you try to justify your wrong so that you can eat it...I've seen people change their rules to suit their comfort zone"*

Some found the notion of animal welfare to be irrelevant if the animals were going to be eventually "killed" and consumed, hence the concept of welfare itself did not appear to make sense.

- *"Yes but with animals getting killed...they will get killed either way what difference does it make?"*
- *"Look if we keep them we do, even if we keep them well - but ultimately they will be killed....their main motive is to kill no matter how they are kept"*

4.2.2 Attitudes towards fair trade food

Although the concept of fair trade foods was new to participants, many were already aware of the challenges faced by the farmers in India. On the subject of considering foods that offered fair compensation to farmers, there did not appear to be anyone who was totally disengaged with this idea. However, some felt the term "ethical" may not be relevant to the end consumer. These attitudes have been summarised in the diagram below:

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │  4.2.2 Fairtrade │
                    │      foods       │
                    └──────────────────┘
                       │            │
            ┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
            │ 4.2.2.1 'Considerers'│ │ 4.2.2.2 'Ambivalent' │
            │ - "there should be a"│ │ - "it is ethical for the │
            │      change"      │  │   farmers...not us"   │
            └──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
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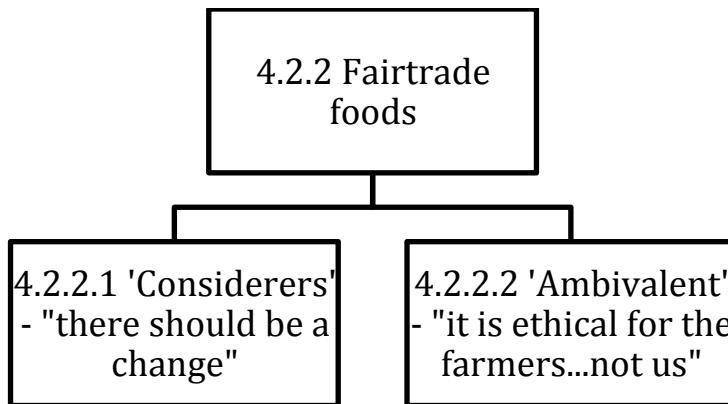
__Diagram 18 - Attitudes towards fair trade foods across the two typologies__

4.2.2.1 The 'Considerers' – "there should be a change"

These participants supported the idea of fair trade foods.

- *"Actually it is a big change...there should be more emphasis on government & farmer relationships right now - there are lots of middlemen earning a lot of profit and there should be a change"*
- *"What the farmers get...they who work so hard and if they get their profit then even we feel good...they are the true hard workers"*

Some also felt that this issue should be addressed on broader scale as they saw the government as being part of the problem as well.

- *"But what is the government doing here as well?...they were holding onto wheat worth 3 crores hoping that prices will go up due to short supply and they ended up destroying it! They aren't giving it to the people ultimately!"*

4.2.2.2 The 'Ambivalent' – "It is ethical for the farmers…not us"

Some did not see these foods as being "ethical" for the consumer as they were perceived to be benefitting just the farmers. In the previous section, it was

evident that the concept of ethical foods had a largely self-oriented benefit rather than being perceived to offer a wider social benefit. This might explain why some might have felt that the concept of fair trade foods may not be relevant to them.

- *"It is ethical for the farmers...yes but not us"*
- *"Farmers are the ones who are benefitting...their incomes in India are very low, if measures are taken to increase their welfare then it is ethical"*

4.2.3 Attitudes towards environmentally friendly packaging

Responsible and environmentally friendly packaging was a completely foreign concept, and there were no opinions expressed upon this subject.

4.2.4 Some differences observed across groups

When it came to attitudes towards these types of foods, there were no major differences observed between age or religion. However, when it came to gender differences, women, in general, appeared to show more interest in the overall concept of a common good and mutual benefit for the consumer and the larger community, more so than the men did.

4.2.5 Summary - foods that offered social/environmental benefits

Although there is low awareness of foods that offer social/environmental benefits, there were different attitudes noted towards these foods. The 'Considerers' found the idea of a common good to be appealing and, in general, such attitudes were more evident among the groups of women. Among the

'Ambivalent', there were questions and doubts about general claims relating to social and environmental welfare. This appeared to arise from low levels of familiarity with such foods, compounded by wider problems relating to the lack of transparency, accountability and trust within the system. Among the 'Less Interested', the concept of welfare extending beyond the individual did not seem to make sense, nor was it seen to be particularly relevant. The next sections in this chapter will focus on influences behind these attitudes in more detail.

SECTION 3

4.3 Influences on perceptions and definitions of 'ethical foods'

This section will cover factors that appear to have influenced perceptions, definitions and meanings associated with the term 'ethical foods'. As a recap from Section 1, these definitions included foods that had religious, cultural and health-related associations, and then there were those who felt the definition was subjective and not associated with religious or traditional protocols. Influences on these views have been grouped, broadly, into three categories below. Each of these will be discussed in more detail in this section.
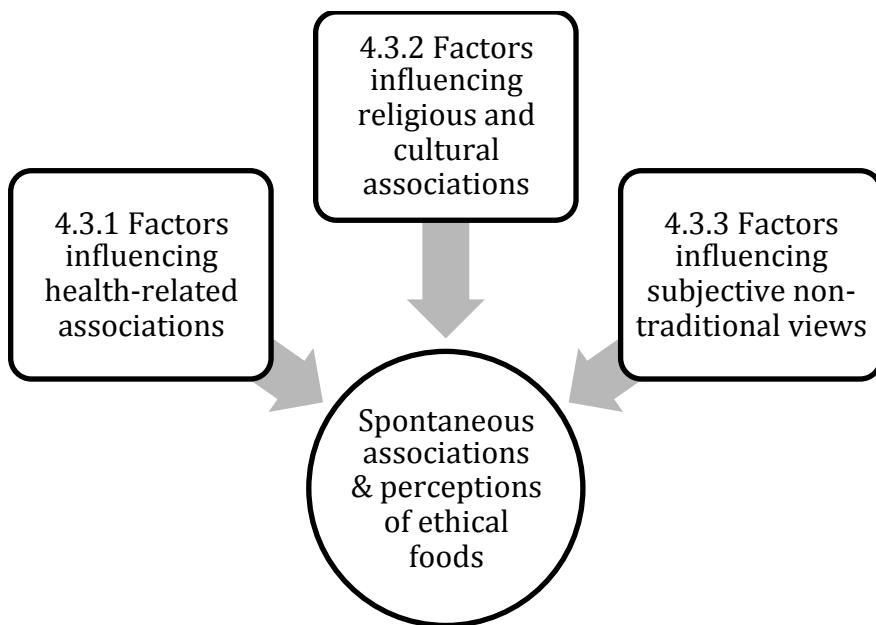
Diagram 19 - The three broad factors that influenced the associations and perceptions of ethical foods

This has been divided into understanding factors that influenced health-related associations with ethical foods, religious and cultural associations with ethical foods and also what might have influenced some of the non-traditional views when discussing ethical foods

4.3.1 Influencing factors - health-related associations with ethical foods

As part of the discussion on general lifestyles and consumption habits, many participants expressed concerns relating to food health and safety such as pesticides being used in foods and the increasing consumption of "junk" and "artificial" foods. Factors that might account for why ethical foods were associated with "healthy" foods have been summarised in the diagram below:
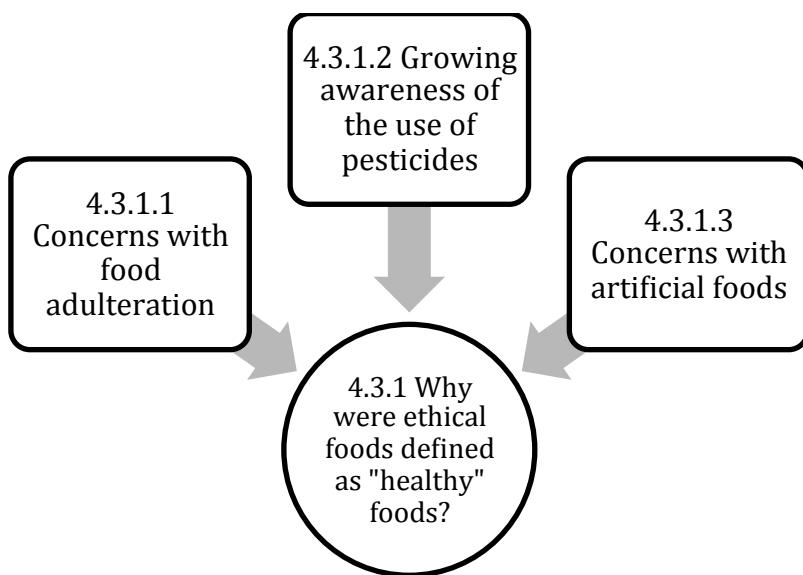
Diagram 20 - Reasons why ethical foods were defined as being "healthy foods"

4.3.1.1 Concerns with widespread food adulteration – "what does a man buy and what does he not buy?"

The deliberate and underhand practice of food adulteration, prevalent in both the public and private sector, was a common concern.

- *"of all foods, 95% have some form of adulteration or another…but then what does a man buy and what does he not buy?"*

- *"Because they* (food manufacturers*) benefit from this and get more money...they don't think that these are healthy and these aren't"*
- *"There is adulteration in the food chain. The government wants just money"*

Participants also mentioned consumer mistrust to be an issue where, in many instances, they have been deliberately mislead by vendor claims.

- *"We are doing the best we can do...buying foods from places we think are safe but we still get manipulated because people don't tell us what the real truth is"*
- *"It's difficult to trust something completely…no matter what it is. So by looking at the labels we can't tell that this is right or wrong…"*

Therefore, given this apparent lack of concern for consumer welfare, it seems food manufacturers that were above board and demonstrated a sense of responsibility towards the consumer were thought of as "ethical".

- *there's ethics for everything….ethics for business so there will be ethics for food as well. Like business for ethics would be not selling your products by cheating your clients… If you tend to cheat or lie then that's unethical"*

4.3.1.2 Growing awareness of pesticides in foods - "they put pesticides…we were all shocked"

There is growing awareness relating to the use of pesticides in foods and their harmful impacts. Television programmes, such as the recently aired 'Satyamev Jayate' (meaning Truth Alone Shall Prevail), have highlighted the continued use of banned food chemicals, pesticides and rising rates of cancers in India (*Toxic Food* 2012) and have helped push such issues into the public limelight. This awareness was also noted among participants in this study, and might explain why ethical foods were defined as "healthy" foods.

- *"What they feed their kids, they put pesticides in that even. When we heard about this* (referring to Satyamev Jayate's coverage on pesticides used in foods) *we were all shocked!"*

- *"on the topic of fertilizers…it affects our food as well. It affects our health too. So it's not about having pizza & other types of foods. This stuff was being dissolved in our soils since early times, and what we need for our bodies and health is also being eroded in the soil"*

4.3.1.3 Concerns with artificial/junk foods - "if I had a choice I would tell Maggi to get out of my house!"

Some expressed concerns with artificial and "junk" foods and their children's excessive consumption of them, which made this an "ethical" issue.

- *"On the subject of ethics…I believe we shouldn't have soft drinks. But when a child looks at it, he wants just that!"*

- *"it's not good to have too much junk food...we shouldn't give them to kids"*

- *Ok my 10 year old boy has never seen this* (referring to jaggery, considered to be a natural form of unprocessed sugar)*…where has he seen jaggery?…he has seen Maggi, seen juice. He will have only juice…and if I had a choice I would tell Maggi to get out of my house!"*

There were also some concerns about marketing tactics that were seen to tempt children into buying such foods.

- *"Like ads for kids...they know that kids are not developed enough to make their own decisions but they use their favourite stars to tempt them!"*

4.3.2 Influencing factors - religious and cultural associations with ethical foods

The participants' definitions of the term 'ethics', along with their sense of "right" and "wrong", offered some insight into what might have also influenced their definition of 'ethical foods'. Social norms appeared to largely influence individual views and beliefs, and this is summarised in the diagram below:
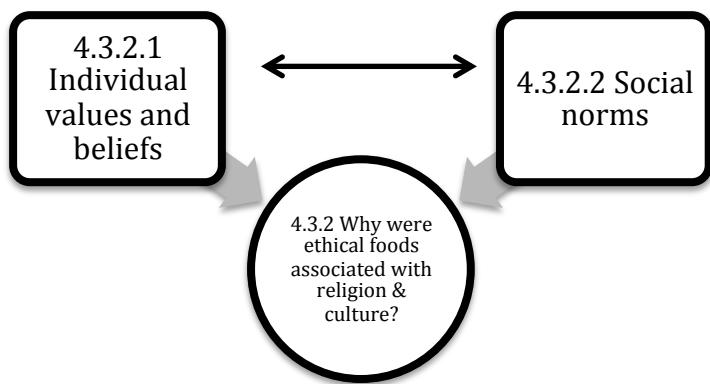
Diagram 21 - Reasons why ethical foods were associated with religion and culture

Individual values and beliefs along with the influence of social norms provided some insight into why ethical foods had strong religious and cultural associations

4.3.2.1 Individual values and beliefs - "Ethical is something which is related to our culture"

When asked to discuss their views relating to the general term "ethics", participant definitions can be categorised as follows:

- 4.3.2.1.1: Respect for one's culture and customs.
- 4.3.2.1.2: Respect for the values and teachings of the family.
- 4.3.2.1.3: Harmony with one's community.

This discussion on ethics and values helped provide some insight into the association between 'ethical foods', religion and tradition.

4.3.2.1.1 "Our thinking becomes good…when we think about tradition"

Many participants associated the term "ethics" with the beliefs and practices of their own culture and tradition.

- *"Ethical is something which is related to our culture…it belongs to our culture. That is why we use this term…the ethics term"*

Many also felt they needed to observe their customs and traditions in order to live "good" lives.

- *"Our thinking becomes good…when we think about tradition, we feel good inside isn't it? …like if we were to use certain words/language that reflects our social values/customs, then our thinking starts to change/become different"*

- *"I'm following my parents' customs and traditions…so I would also want my children to follow my tradition….it shouldn't be the case that our customs come to an end….I've helped continue our traditions because I'm following my parents…and I want this to continue…our customs need to keep moving on…carried on from generation to generation"*

4.3.2.1.2: Ethics "are what is given by the family members to their children"

The term 'ethics' was also perceived to include the values and teachings, from one's family, which were passed on across the generations. There was regard for them because they were seen to shape one's sense of identity.

- *"According to my thinking ethics are what is given by the family members to their children…it is transferred from one generation to the other generation…these are ethics for me"*
- *"We've inherited what our elders have taught us …the future generation will inherit what we taught them about our values...regarding our food, clothing, respecting our parents"*

This might indicate why foods associated with one's *"customs"* and *"traditions"* were then also perceived as 'ethical'.

- *"What to eat, drink, customs traditions....all this kids learn from their parents...because kids don't know what the rituals are, what the customs are"*
- *"I believe in whatever my mother believes in so I just continue with that"*

4.3.2.1.3 Ethics is about "relationships with our family and… neighbours"

Communal harmony and developing a sense of kinship with the wider community was also defined as "ethical".

- *"Ethics is about one's thinking…family, connectivity needs to be strong…relationships with our family and…neighbours, my friends and all around the circle which is close to me"*
- *"giving importance to someone's values"*
- *"we need to be co-operative"*

Hence, foods that reflected these social customs were seen to be an extension of ethical values and behaviour.

- *"Well ethics would be…with ethics and food, I think it's more defined by your culture and social behaviour"*

4.3.2.2 The pressure of social norms - "you have to show people that you are in"

Besides the influence of communal beliefs upon individual values, meeting social expectations and adhering to these customary norms was also discussed as being important – and, at times, more so than following one's own values and beliefs.

- *"You see if you're considered a religious person, you have to show the people that you are in…that you believe in it to be part of the community otherwise you'll be ostracised!"*

This was emphasised in reference to the Brahmin caste who are meant to be seen to adhere to their customary protocols of being strict vegetarians, even though, behind closed doors, they might do the opposite.

- *"They may say no* (referring to non vegetarian foods*)…but on the sly they are eating all other types of foods (laughter)"*

Therefore, it appears one's attitudes towards ethical foods, in general, were guided not just by individual values and views but also by the perceived expectations of the wider social "environment".

- *"some food in India, like beef, if you go a restaurant and order it, everyone looks at you…and then you're made to feel like you're doing something wrong because everyone is looking at you"*

- *"It depends on how the environment looks at you…like when we're talking about right foods and wrong foods"*

4.3.3 Non-traditional perceptions - "ethics is subjective"

This group did not seem to associate with the traditional viewpoints. Factors that appeared to shape their attitudes appeared to come from their contemporary peer group as well as changing urban lifestyles and consumption habits. This is summarised in the diagram below:
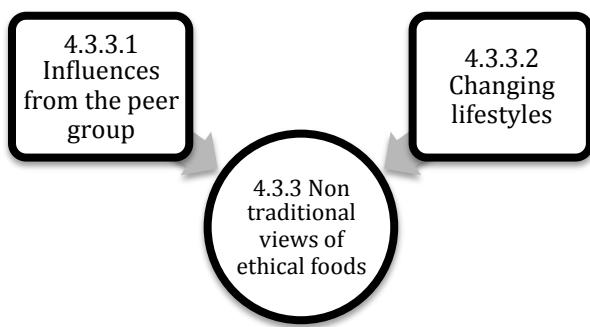
Diagram 22 - Reasons that influenced non-traditional perceptions of ethical foods

4.3.3.1 Influence from the peer group – "if I don't follow my friends, there are hundreds observing me"

Although these participants did not associate with traditional and religious protocols, they still discussed peer pressure from "friends" and the need to keep up appearances with "hundreds observing" them. In this way, they were similar to the more traditionally oriented participants but they simply had a different reference group.

- *"People used to believe what is said…that's why if a religion says do this and don't do this, a lot of people would just believe it. But…we don't have*

proof of it…because we can't see it I guess…religion is a virtual quantity it is not something we can see or touch…if I don't follow religion there's nobody to observe me, at least not these days with our generation…but if I don't follow my friends, there are hundreds observing me and I have to live in this society"

When asked about the influence of social pressure in relation to foods, some participants admitted to having changed their traditional outlook based upon how they would be perceived by their peer group, as summarised, below, in this excerpt from a conversation:

Moderator question

- *"Have you felt any peer pressure in relation to food?"*

Replies from participants

- *"Yes that's how I started eating beef"*
- *"they tell you your parents aren't here to see this, just take one of this…come on try this, live a little"*

Similar views of breaking away from traditional protocols were expressed in relation to the consumption of alcohol, which was considered to be "unethical" according to traditional beliefs.

- *"In an environment like if you're working professionally, Friday night is when everyone goes out to the pub and has a drink. It's just a thing everyone does to mingle and talk. You just stand out if you're having Coke and everyone else is having a bottle of beer…and that point you go ok it feels weird to be the odd one out and it's just one night of the week, so you go ok have one"*

4.3.3.2 Changing lifestyles and consumption habits – "we are becoming westernised"

Some participants also felt that the current lifestyles and consumption habits are changing due to *"Globalisation, awareness…going overseas"* as the influence of foreign cultures in India was discussed:

- *"It's forbidden to eat non veg according to Hindu customs…but we are becoming westernised and are adopting their culture more & more."*

Furthermore, with rising disposable incomes and opportunities to travel overseas, new cultures appeared to be influencing traditional values.

- *"when we are overseas you could unknowingly eat something that's non vegetarian but that doesn't mean we stop eating food altogether…but slowly like the next generation, the way they are growing up…they will start having non vegetarian"*

Related to the point about influence from foreign cultures, one participant recounted the following incident:

- *"one of my friends who's a naval engineer…he moved to Singapore as a shipping engineer and started working over there, he was from a Brahmin family who were really orthodox vegetarian…he started having chicken and started tasting animals….he started having pork, beef and all this type of stuff but his parents were really orthodox… his parents were like you should rather die than have non veg…his parents don't know"*

4.3.4 Summary – influences on the perception of 'ethical foods'

The religious and traditional perceptions of the term 'ethical foods' appeared to be a reflection of the broader socio-cultural values and beliefs of one's family and society. Adhering to the cultural customs of the family and community were discussed as being 'ethical' as these appeared to be a reflection of one's social and moral standing, and was considered to be something that one ought to aspire to. Hence, foods that symbolised such values were also deemed as ethical. However, there was a dichotomy noted between the need to adhere to these customary norms and truly acting upon one's own beliefs. Many claimed that *"we have to rise to the expectations of the community, family and friends"* and, hence, there also appeared to be immense pressure to "fit in" with the social in-group. Another finding is that ethical foods were largely defined as benefitting the individual rather than having a social or environmental benefit. This appeared to be due to the individual and social challenges faced by the urban middle class. It seemed that ethical foods were described as *"healthy"* foods given widespread concerns relating to food health and safety, along with the perception of a lack of concern for the consumer's welfare. The next section in this chapter will cover factors that influenced attitudes towards ethical foods that offered social and environmental benefits.

SECTION 4

4.4 Factors that influenced attitudes towards ethical foods that offered social and/or environmental benefits

This section will cover factors that influenced participant attitudes towards foods that benefitted social and environmental causes. While some participants expressed interest in such a concept, there were several questions, concerns and doubts that were raised, as summarised below:
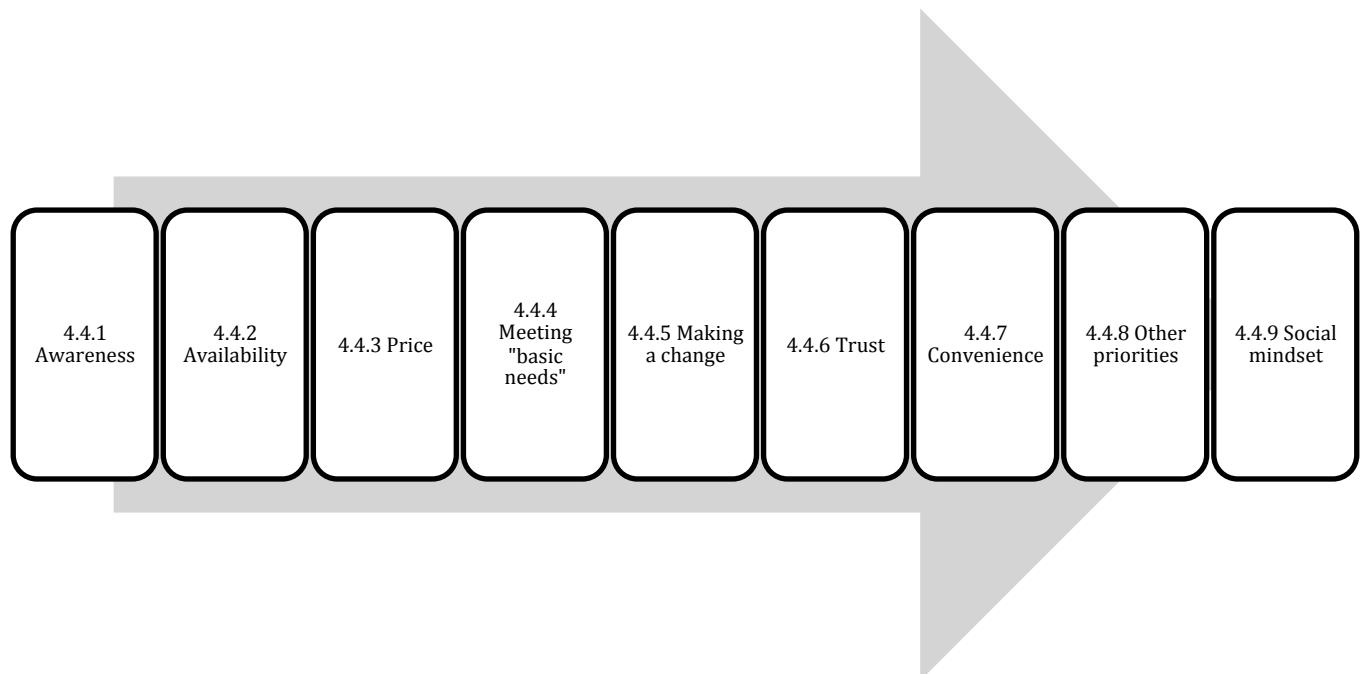
Diagram 23 - Spectrum of attitudinal barriers towards foods that offered social and environmental benefits

These attitudes have been arranged on a spectrum as the ones on the left, although reflecting doubts and concerns, seemed more amenable to the concept of socially and environmentally beneficial foods whereas other attitudes, edging towards the right, are relatively more complex and their reservations towards such foods seemed harder to address. In general, the 'Considerers' found the concept of socially and environmentally beneficial foods to be appealing but, during the course of the discussions, shared some common concerns with the other participants. The 'Ambivalent' raised deeper and more complex questions about one's ability to make a *"change"* along with potential problems with *"trust"* and transparency relating to product claims. The 'Less Interested', on the far right end of the spectrum, felt the concept of ethical foods was not really relevant to them nor Indian society in general. These attitudes have been explored in more detail below.

4.4.1 Awareness – "we are buying blindfolded"

The lack of awareness and knowledge, relating to such foods, appeared to be a key barrier for practically all the participants.

- *"Because actually we don't know which food is beneficial for the farmer and which is not, so we buy the food according to our need"*

Participants also felt that the lack of information about welfare issues associated with foods meant that they are currently buying them "blindfolded".

- *" there is no mark on the packs that the farmers are being treated well…or they are getting share from the profits…we don't know these things so we are buying blindfolded"*

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Therefore, it was felt that it would be helpful if participants were provided with more information about these foods as this could potentially result in a change in attitudes as well.

- *"if I were given two products one with the label and one without, if they are comparable prices then I would go for the one with the label…that says it is beneficial to the farmer"*
- *"Yes...if it's written on the packet that this is okay then our confidence in that will start to build"*
- *When he* (the consumer) *is informed about it later* (social and environmental impacts of food production)*, then it becomes a big deal for him. They will go goodness what have I done….they will be flabbergasted!"*

4.4.2 Availability – "these things need to be near our homes"

In addition to the lack of awareness and knowledge, there also appeared to be concerns relating to the "easy" access and availability of such foods.

- *"these things need to be near our homes. It's not like it's available just in just some remote corner"*

Many felt that easy "availability" would also help address some of the practical concerns and challenges when seeking out such foods.

- *"if it was good for the earth I would consider that, provided there is cost comparability and easily available"*
- *"Yes they need to be available in the shops nearby…the local market"*
- *"It is helpful to have shops that are within the vicinity"*

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4.4.3 Price & affordability - "Whoever has the means"

There was also the perception that these foods might be expensive and, therefore, not suited to the wallets of "middle class" families.

- *"middle class people like us can't afford to take these kinds of decisions that I will only buy food that is beneficial to the environment and the farmer…because he has also to look at his own economic condition…he feels like buying it but he needs to consider his financial situation"*
- *"If you were to price it so much and the quantity is only this much, it won't even last us a month. So for us we need such a product where its quality is good, quantity is right…and it suits our finances/budget. So these 3 things are important for us. Because we have a limited amount and we need to invest some of that. We need to live according to our budgets"*

In fact, some felt that such foods were attractive in principle but, in reality, their food choices would be guided by price.

- *"Everyone here is talking about the planet…see when we go shopping, do we ever consider the planet? What do we consider?… as in yes here's this product, this is its price…it's good for the planet or good for the health?…even if it's good for the health but if that product's price is lower than this one then we won't think about the planet. We've all heard things about the planet now once, twice, three times (points at moderator) so now we might start to think about it. Otherwise it's forget about the planet, people just consider the price…if they're both the same as far as health is concerned, we will look at the product's price, it's not about the planet"*

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- *"of course price also matters….like you take two products, one is beneficial to the farmers and one is not and there is a lot of price difference between them, so we would prefer to buy the cheaper one"*

4.4.4 Meeting basic needs - "at end of the day their basic needs and wants surpasses this"

Some, although engaged with the notion of social and environmental welfare, felt that their "basic needs and wants" needed to be met first.

- *"It* (farmer welfare) *does bother some people, they might show some sympathy but in the end of the day their basic needs and wants surpasses this"*

Some also stated that India may not be ready for such a concept given that there are other more pressing challenges that needed to be considered first.

- *"Have you seen the environment/surroundings? See the road how dirty it is! We use that on a daily basis…so till that isn't fixed, the planet (waves hand in a dismissive gesture) is a very far thing"*
- *"We need to look after our children, our families, maintain our culture also. After doing all this first, then perhaps we may look at these things. We middle class families have a lot of things to manage"*
- *"in Australia it's ok, you have family life, they give you allowances and time off but…it's the opposite* (in India)*….nobody has time to cook food, let alone go and search for which food is good for the body….nobody cares if the farmers are being exploited, and worse of all, we have to rise to the expectations of the community, family and friends"*

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4.4.5 Doubts about truly making a change - "we all care…but we can't make a change"

On a deeper level, some raised questions about the ability of such foods to make any significant change, and hence the lack of empowerment and the ability to truly make a difference was discussed as a barrier. The hassle of going up against an "entire bureaucracy" appeared to result in feeling "indifferent" and creating a sense of apathy.

- *"I care, he cares…I think we all care for the plight of farmers but the thing is we can't make a change…there's nothing we can do so that makes people indifferent and ignorant"*
- *"And even people would care…some would care for the farmers…but people don't have control over the entire bureaucracy so if my care cannot change the situation then you start getting indifferent towards it"*
- *"One person cannot do everything….there needs to be like an organic movement, then only can we protect the earth"*

4.4.6 Trust & transparency - "it's difficult to trust something completely"

There also appeared to be a lack of trust in the general system, accompanied by a sense of scepticism towards many contemporary issues.

- *"We worship those as long as we don't find out the truth about them….Kandha…till so far he was a good man. Till now everybody knew him as a politician …before all this* (reference to a recent scandal) *got onto the news, we didn't know this about him."*

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- *"The society believes in them as long as they don't have the full knowledge about them."*

The same sense of scepticism appeared to extend towards the concept of ethical foods and green products, in general, during the discussions.

- *"It's difficult to trust something completely…no matter what it is. So by looking at the labels, we can't tell that this is right or wrong"*
- *"There are some companies which we don't believe in. Yes it's cheap but we don't know whether they are good or not"*
- *"Companies just use labels to increase their profits…like if you look at electricity consumption labels. Some are five star, some are three star …if you were to purchase five star, there's still no guarantee that you would use less electricity"*

In view of this, some suggested that such foods ought to be sold through a "good brand" that is well known.

- *"We can be confident if it is a good brand. Because for some brands we can't speak to anyone about them, where do we complain? And we can't even return them. Branded goods are more expensive but we trust them because they are better than the others. It builds trust. There needs to be quality"*
- *"we buy from good supermarkets...we trust those places"*

Others felt that "government-approved" shops may hold more weight than private "companies" and "supermarkets".

- *"it needs to be approved by the Government of India. Some stores that are from the government need to be opened, then they will take off"*

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- *"Rather than business tycoons, I would recommend government owned shops"*
- *"See they need to be sold in government approved shops, labelled by them...they need to check whether it is healthy, disease free"*

Furthermore, a "clean" and presentable appearance of a vendor's premises, with the right certifications, was also mentioned as being important as far as the trust factor was considered.

- *"if there's a shop, it's clean...and if you keep chickens that don't get sick...there needs to be a certificate...that certifies its health"*

4.4.7 Habits and inconveniences - "we just look at what is comfortable for us"

Some participants claimed they were not willing to change their lifestyles and habits, and therefore saw such a concept as being "too much" to think about - *"That's too much detail, nobody cares"*

An example of this discussion is as follows:

- Moderator question - *"you have non veg foods....but yet at the same time you feel it's not good for the environment?"*
- To which, some participants replied:
  - *"Yes...but I like non vegetarian food!"*
  - *"Non veg is not good for the environment, but it is good for us"*

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Some discussed other examples relating to their unwillingness to give up on their daily conveniences for environmentally friendly causes.

- *"I think more than 90% of the people are not caring for the environment because everyone wants to fulfil their needs…and in fulfilling their needs they are not bothered about whether they are harming the environment or not….like we are using cars…they give out a lot of pollution to the environment but we are not getting rid of them…we are just fulfilling our needs….we need to go the office, if it's nearby we can walk or use bikes…. but we don't care for that, we just look at what is comfortable for us"*
- *"think about this to be very honest…compare us to China…it is a communist country, people aren't treated well, there is so much exploitation of labour but yet when things come out of China we buy it….even if it's made in China because its economical and of good quality, we buy it, we all buy it"*
- *"we can't just go…stop our lives, stop everything we're doing and go become an activist…fight for the farmers, starve to death that's not happening!"*

4.4.8 Other individual and social priorities were of more importance - "life in general is so hectic nobody has the time"

Some participants discussed having a different set of individual and social priorities. In answer to this question, asked by the moderator – *"this problem itself about farmer exploitation, does it bother you at all?",* some felt – *"Look it's just a discussion for me"*. The "hectic" work culture and the need to get ahead in a competitive society meant that thinking about social and environmental issues was not really relevant.

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- *"India is a fast growing economy, people don't have time to even be with their families, they are working day & night…nobody cares, that I can say for myself"*
- *"I start work very early… I don't have time to think about what to prepare, what to eat and what not to eat…time for me is everything, where I can save time that helps me isn't it? Whatever's with me during that time, I will take that. One needs to look at one's situation right?"*
- *"work in India and life in general is so hectic nobody has the time to go over all this…like my sister, she is 37 now. She doesn't have a child because she doesn't have time. She goes to sleep at 4am, gets up at 7am on some days"*

However, in view of the rat race to "succeed", some participants stated that if such foods were to become a trend among their social groups then this was likely to positively influence their attitudes as well.

- *"If it is important to the generation then it is important to us because we have to keep up with the generation…because everyone wants to succeed in their future so it is important to keep up….like if my friend has the latest mobile, I also want to get the latest mobile, new clothes"*
- *"if there are 2 chocolate companies, it depends on the ads that appeal to youngsters…because it's cool. As youngsters the trend is more important"*

4.4.9 The social mindset - "As long as the thinking doesn't change, nothing will change"

Some felt the barriers to consideration for such foods were extremely high because the average Indian consumer is basically "selfish".

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- *"These people after cleaning their homes, fill up water in their buckets and throw it out onto the roads. This is wrong. They keep their homes pristinely clean and spit outside wherever they want. If you walk out somewhere, wearing your slippers, your house tends to get dirty. But they don't think like that. As long as the thinking doesn't change, nothing will change"*
- *"Everyone has become selfish…today everyone is selfish"*

There was also the perception that the concept of caring for something beyond "our family" and "our self" was not popular.

- *"the planet and issues relating to the planet is a distant thing for us…first we will see our child, our family, our self and then planet & then everything like environment…we people don't even look at our environment/immediate surroundings so the planet is a distant matter"*
- *"people in India are too money minded….like if you take a farmer and you tell him that his production will be doubled by using this type of chemical, he will think of his production not about the people"*

On the issue of farmer welfare, there was a general sense of apathy expressed by some as they felt "everybody has their own problems".

- *"I think if the farmers are being exploited, they care a lot and they will form a farmer community to fight for this….and they can create awareness among people….everybody has their own problems…they need to fight for it"*
- *"in Kerala and in the north, they…bore wells which were stuck very deep underground where they drew water which drained water in the neighbouring areas so their crops died but the government took action….but in the north, it didn't happen so there were multiple suicides in the farmer family….so when rice comes to my family, I don't know where it's come from*

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whether it's Kerala or Tamil Nadu or the north, you don't have the time go

through it…nobody has the time to go through all this"

4.4.10 Summary of attitudes and barriers

Raising awareness about foods that offer social and environmental benefits as well as making such foods accessible to the middle-class were two factors that, according to most participants, needed to be addressed first. However, some participants, in comparison to others, still seemed further ahead on the spectrum of consideration and had concerns that seemed relatively easier to address. These included ensuring the authenticity of product claims and selling such foods through known channels of distribution. There were then other factors that seemed to reflect more complex concerns such as meeting *"needs and wants"* - although this definition of 'needs and wants' seemed to mean different things for different participants. Some felt that challenges relating to safety, security and the local environment needed to be considered first, while others had more personally-oriented needs such as the need to be socially accepted. Going back to the low levels of awareness and knowledge relating to such foods, it raises the question that if these were to be addressed could some of these other concerns and barriers also be addressed? That said, these diverse attitudes, towards the concept of ethical foods, may also point towards different underlying values. These, along with other key points, have been discussed in the next chapter – Chapter 5 (Discussion).

Chapter 5 – Discussion

This chapter discusses the research findings, explains their significance and considers potential avenues for further research into this area. The findings from this study revealed a range of different attitudes towards the concept of ethical foods. In addition, participant views on ethics, their cultural beliefs, consumption preferences and lifestyles helped offer further insight into what might have influenced their attitudes. This chapter largely focuses upon the three typologies, as identified in the previous chapter – the 'Considerers', the 'Ambivalent' and the 'Less Interested' – and discusses their attitudes towards ethical foods and underlying influences in greater detail.

5.1 Summary of findings

Based on the findings from this study, participant definitions of ethical foods can be categorised into four broad themes:

- Religious foods according to Hindu and Muslim beliefs.
- Foods associated with the cultural norms of one's social caste and the state that one belonged to.
- 'Healthy' foods such as *"natural", "fresh", "pure"* foods.
- Some did not share any of these views and felt the term 'ethical foods' was subjective - *"it varies according to the person".*

These themes have been summarised in the diagram below:
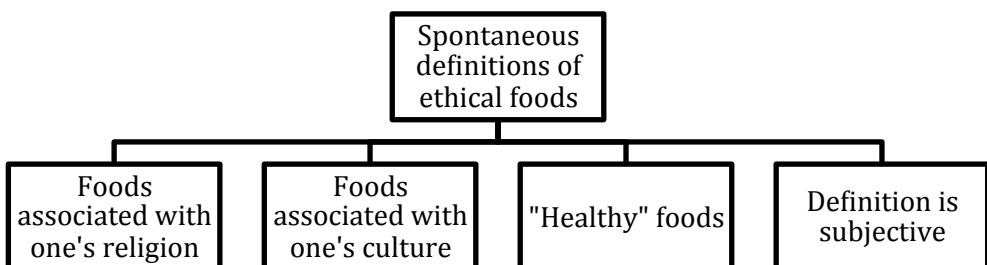
Diagram 24 - Spontaneous perceptions of ethical foods among participants

The meaning of term 'ethics' was commonly described as *"something which is related to our culture"*. This may explain why the term 'ethical foods' was perceived to be associated with religious and customary norms. India's collectivist culture represents a tightly knit social framework where individuals can expect members of their in-group to look after them, in exchange for their loyalty (The Hofstede Centre 2014). Hence, this might also explain why there was a strong inclination towards maintaining social harmony *"with our family and…neighbours"*. On the other hand, underlying pressure to also *"rise to the expectations of the community"* and conform to cultural norms offered further insight into why *"unethical foods"*, such as meat, were discussed, by some, as being consumed *"on the sly"* and *"away from your family"*.

India has often been referred to as the land of contradictions, and the findings from this study seemed to add to this perspective. The different definitions of ethical foods indicated that some were strongly oriented towards religion and tradition, while others felt quite the opposite – *"religion is only a set of protocols made to create some kind of organised following to keep people in line"*. Changing lifestyles and consumption habits, in urban India, also indicate that, today, "we are

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living in two Indias" ('India's youth' 2013, para. 8) as traditional principles and archetypes are being questioned by some (Sinha 2011).

Another finding worth highlighting is that 'ethical foods' were mainly perceived to be foods that benefitted oneself and/or one's in-group rather than offering a social or environmental benefit. However, discussions on broader social challenges shed some light on why these foods were defined as such. Many elaborated upon the problems encountered, by the average consumer, such as dealing with food contamination, getting *"manipulated"* by the system and, hence, it was felt that *"It's difficult to trust something completely"*. In view of this, it seemed that ethical foods, perceived as a solution to these problems, were deemed a *"good thing"* and, by that token, it explained why many felt ethical foods would also be *"healthy foods"*.

When discussing specific examples of foods, such as fair trade, animal welfare foods and foods with environmentally friendly packaging, awareness was generally low. However, attitudes towards these concepts were mixed. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Research Findings), 'Considerers' was a term given to participants who found the general concept of a common good to be appealing whereas the 'Ambivalent' were lukewarm as they had their questions, doubts and concerns. The lack of availability and knowledge about ethical foods was also discussed as a key impediment. Other studies have also indicated that consumer awareness and education are an essential first step to encourage consideration and usage of green products (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012). On the other hand, the 'Less Interested', as the name suggests, were those who were least interested in the concept of ethical foods as they felt other priorities were more important - *"work in India and life in*

general is so hectic nobody has the time to go over all this". These attitudes have been summarised in the diagram below:

Attitudes towards ethical foods

Low awareness

Accessibility

Meeting "needs & wants"

'Considerer' attitudes
- A common good
- Religious associations
- Healthy associations

'Ambivalent' attitudes
- Concerns about disruption to food habits
- Can such foods truly "make a change"?
- Mistrust & product claims

'Less Interested' attitudes
- "nobody cares" given other priorities
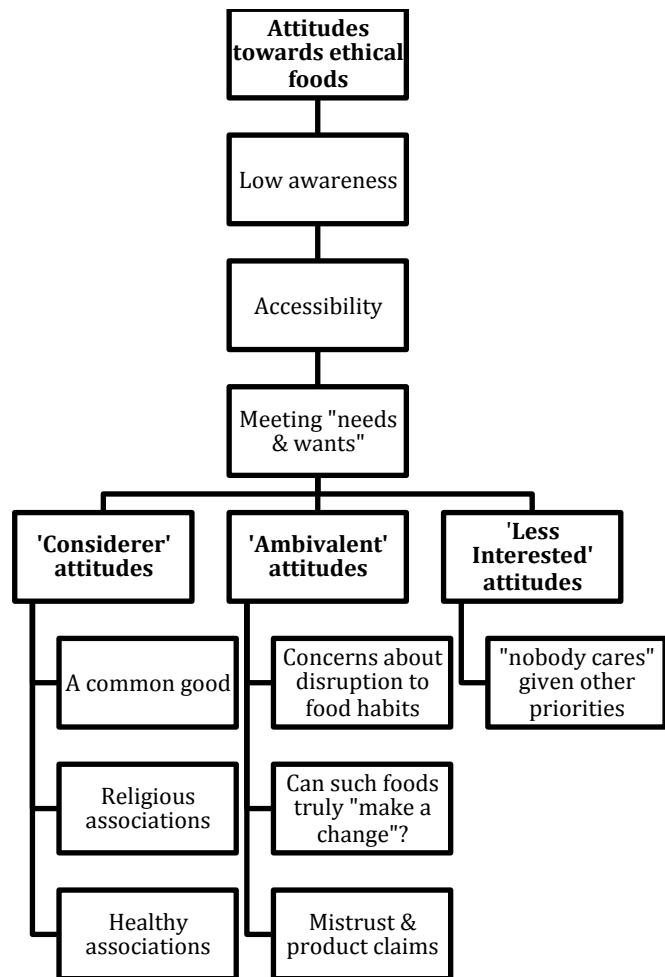
Diagram 25 – Attitudes towards ethical foods and the three typologies

When summing up the attitudes towards ethical foods, it is worth highlighting that low levels of awareness, accessibility and meeting "basic needs" were concerns shared by practically all the participants. It was beyond this that the differences in attitudes, towards the concept of ethical foods, began to emerge. Furthermore, there seemed to be a common overlap between how some participants spontaneously defined the term 'ethical foods' and their attitudes towards foods that offered social and environmental benefits. This was especially in regards to the

perceived religious and cultural benefits of such foods. The different attitudes towards ethical foods also indicated the presence of different consumer segments with potentially different value orientations. However, first, it is important to understand how low levels of awareness and knowledge might have impacted these attitudes, and what the implications might be.

5.2 Awareness and knowledge relating to ethical foods

The level of awareness and knowledge was a key factor influencing attitudes. Most participants, when initially presented with the concept of ethical foods, felt – *"I'm not really aware of these foods"*- and, hence, this needed to be explained, with examples, before their attitudes were discussed. Therefore, based on the premise of some level of awareness being present, could attitudes, opinions and even behavioural intentions be considered.

Attitudes towards a new concept could be very different from attitudes where is there a good, tangible understanding of a thing or phenomena. In this case, had awareness and knowledge about the concept of ethical foods been more widely prevalent, concerns about one's ability to truly *"make a change"* and potentially forgo one's habits and conveniences *("stop our lives, stop everything we're doing")* might not been given such emphasis. Although these are hypothetical possibilities, it is worth highlighting that the norm activation model (NAM), developed by Schwartz & Howard (1981), indicates that, in order to encourage pro-social behaviours among people, the first step would be to increase awareness of the issue.

Several studies have already indicated that Indian consumers want environmentally friendly products and are even willing to pay for them but non-availability and poor dissemination of information are barriers to usage (Jain & Kaur 2004; Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012). This was also reflected in this study - *"I don't buy it* (referring to ethical foods) *currently…but after I get satisfied that it is beneficial for me also but also for the health of the animals, environment also then I will buy"*. On a broader level, it is said that, today, environmentalism represents a significant market opportunity in India (Jain & Kaur 2004) and, hence, it has been suggested that companies "must explain not only their own products but also the larger issues of pollution, climate change, overfishing and other environmental problems" (Gill 2012, p. 9), while governments ought to regulate corporate disclosure and information availability (Mahapatra 2013). Therefore, increasing awareness and knowledge, through such measures, may perhaps encourage greater support and adoption for ethical foods and other similar initiatives.

5.3 Accessibility and ethical foods

'Accessibility' is a combination of two common concerns raised in this study – *"easy"* availability of these foods (*"have shops that are within the vicinity")* and affordability (*"affordable for middle-class families")*. Accessibility would relate to one's perceived behavioural control and, therefore, it is worth highlighting this point, made by Ajzen (1991, p. 183), in that "intentions would be expected to influence performance to the extent that the person has behavioural control, and performance should increase with behavioural control to the extent

that the person is motivated to try." Hence, in addition to low levels of awareness and knowledge, the perceived challenge relating to the lack of or poor accessibility is another factor that needs to be considered. Addressing *"availability"* would ideally require mapping out a comprehensive retailing strategy, and this has not been discussed in detail as it is out of scope for the topic of this study. The same applies to a *"suitable"* pricing strategy. However, this has been touched upon in the next chapter – Chapter 6 (Considerations and Future Directions).

5.4 Meeting "basic needs and wants"

Another factor, raised by participants, was meeting their *"basic needs and wants".* After presenting examples of environmentally friendly foods, such as fair trade and animal welfare foods, the sentiment among many participants was as follows – *"It* (farmer welfare) *does bother some people, they might show some sympathy but in the end of the day their basic needs and wants surpasses this".* This reflects Maslow's hierarchy in that higher needs only come into focus once a "person has met his deficiency needs" (Burton 2012, para. 1). These *"needs and wants",* as discussed in this study, have been summarised below:
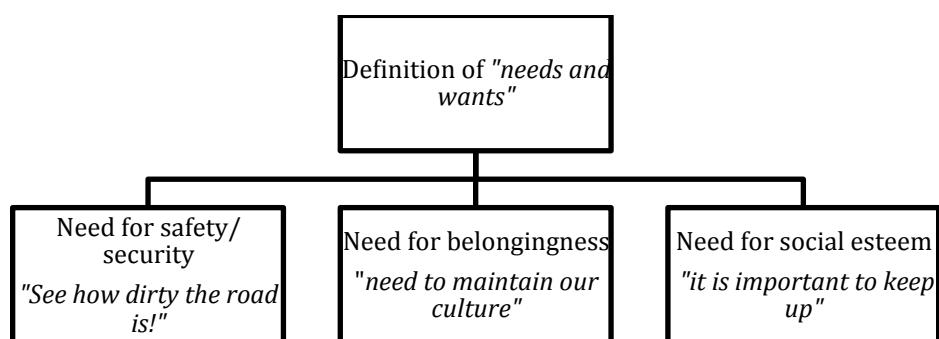
Diagram 26 - Participant "needs and wants" as identified in this study

These *"needs and wants"* were defined in different ways by different participants. For some, these included dealing with the challenges related to the health and safety of the general environment - *"Have you seen the environment/surroundings? See the road how dirty it is! [...] so till that isn't fixed the planet (waves hand in a dismissive gesture) is a very far thing"*. Others expressed more personally oriented needs such as belongingness and being seen to conform to social and cultural expectations - *"We need to look after our children, our families, maintain our culture also. After doing all this first, then perhaps we may look at these things"*. There were then others who highlighted the need to stay ahead of the competitive rat race – *"work in India and life in general is so hectic, nobody has the time to go over all this."*

It is said that once "a person has met his deficiency needs, the focus of his anxiety shifts to self-actualization and he begins - even if only at a subconscious or semiconscious level - to contemplate the context and meaning of life" (Burton 2012, para. 3). Here, the individual seeks to integrate their present self with their ideal self, thereby cultivating a "fully functioning person" (Olson 2013, para. 1). That said, individuals may try to self-actualise through self-oriented hedonistic consumption as much as doing the opposite, such as demonstrating appreciation and concern for things beyond one self (Harrison et al. 2005). These differences in attitudes were also evident in this study where, on one hand, the definition of 'ethics' reflected the aspirations of one's 'ideal self' i.e. being someone who embodies their culture and traditions - *"Our thinking becomes good…when we think about tradition, we feel good inside isn't it?"*. On the other hand, some indicated that *"India is a fast growing economy, people don't have time to even be with their families"*. In fact, some of these priorities were highlighted as

follows - *"everyone wants to succeed in their future so it is important to keep up....like if my friend has the latest mobile I also want to get the latest mobile"*. Hence, these *"needs and wants"* seemed to mean different things for different participants in this study. Looking ahead then, it might be worth exploring the influence of values on shaping these attitudes because, after all, values are "transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (Schwartz 1994, p. 21).

5.5 Attitudes towards ethical foods and underlying influences

The three typologies in this study – 'Considerers', the 'Ambivalent' and the 'Less Interested' – have been identified based upon their attitudes towards ethical foods. As the objective of this study was to explore attitudes as well as underlying influences, that might have shaped these attitudes, it may be important to consider the role of values as influencing factors given that "(1) they serve the interests of some social entity, (2) they can motivate action - giving it direction and emotional intensity, (3) they function as standards for judging and justifying action, and (4) they are acquired both through socialization to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals" (Schwartz 1994, p. 21). With regard to point 4, in particular, the role of values is important to take note of as social values can influence individual attitudes, and more so in a collectivist culture like India (The Hofstede Centre 2014), as was also noted in this study.

When it comes to the universe of motivational values, Schwartz segments this into 10 basic values - Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, Security, Power, Achievement, Hedonism,

Stimulation and Self Direction (Schwartz 1994). Each of these can have different meanings in different contexts, and there can also be a "shared motivational emphases" or an overlap between some values (Schwartz 1994, p. 24). Participant attitudes towards ethical foods can be indicative of their own values and beliefs, and this discussion has used Schwartz's values to help provide some initial context for these attitudes. In addition, environmental value types, identified by Stern & Dietz (1994), as well as other literature on culture, norms and motivations have been also helpful in providing additional perspectives to this discussion.

5.6 The 'Considerers' – attitudes and underlying influences

As mentioned previously, 'Considerers' was a term given to participants who expressed positive attitudes towards ethical foods. The diagram, below, shows a summary of their attitudes as well as some of Schwartz's values, depicted in dotted lines, which appeared to underpin these attitudes. This has been discussed in more detail below.
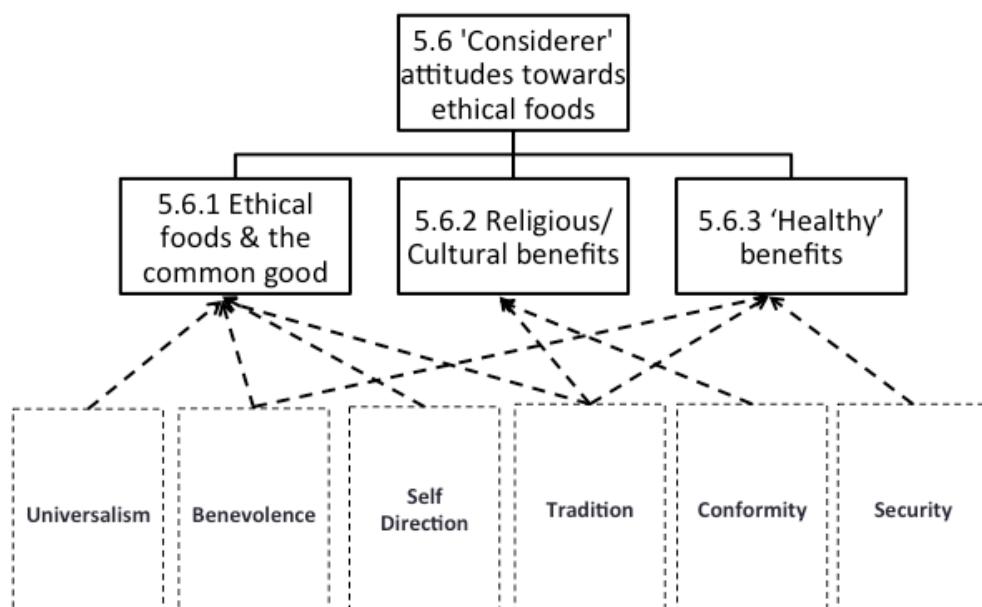
Diagram 27 - 'Considerer' attitudes towards ethical foods and motivational values

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5.6.1 Ethical foods and the common good: "But the planet matters too!"

While low levels of awareness, concerns about accessibility and meeting *"basic needs"* were common to most participants, the 'Considerers', in comparison to the other participants, still found the concept of ethical foods to be appealing. In response to others' doubts and questions about the relevance of ethical foods, some 'Considerers' reacted with feedback such as *"But the planet matters too!"*. These attitudes can be seen as a reflection of their own personal norms which are "self-based standards of specific behaviour generated from internalized values" (Schwartz & Howard, 1981, p. 192). However, it also worth highlighting that these attitudes seemed to be accompanied by certain underlying expectations that need to be understood, especially in regard to the perceived religious and cultural associations with ethical foods. This has been discussed further on in this chapter. First, we will discuss the perceived appeal of a common good in greater detail here.

Recently, after her first whirlwind tour across India, renowned talk show host Oprah Winfrey shared an interesting perspective on the general Indian disposition - "there's a method to the madness - there's a karmic calmness within the millions of people that keeps them moving along a path" (Maddox 2012, para. 4). 'Karma', a key concept in Hindu and Buddhist philosophies, has been defined as "a person's present actions determining their fate in the future" (Merriam-Webster 2014). In this study, one participant narrated his experience related to similar such actions and consequences – *"I only had 10 rupees and I gave it to her. With this, she could have walked half way and taken the bus half way. Instead I walked halfway. And the reason was because I was a human being and so was she. I could have taken those 10 rupees, reached home*

and gone to sleep comfortably. When I need help I don't know and who knows when another might need help." This compassion, expressed for the plight of another, seems to reflect Schwartz's value of 'Universalism', which emphasizes "tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature" (Schwartz 1994, p. 22). This might also account for why ethical foods, a concept bearing similar principles of a common good and a harmonious mutual co-existence, appealed to many -*"Whatever is good for your planet, whatever is good for your atmosphere…and whatever is good for the animals you will buy that only. You will consider it."* Similarly such attitudes were noted towards fair trade and animal-welfare foods, and these have been discussed in the next sub-sections below:

- 5.6.1.1: 'Considerer attitudes towards fair trade foods
- 5.6.1.2: 'Considerer' attitudes towards animal welfare foods

5.6.1.1 Fair trade foods: "there should be a change"

Today, given the rising disposable incomes in India, the focus on fair trade is gaining prominence as it is seen as a means to curb socio-economic inequalities (Cousins 2013). Many in this study also reflected this sentiment as they supported the benefits of fair trade foods. Their attitudes seemed to reflect an underlying 'Benevolence' towards the fair trade cause (*"if I were given two products one with the label and one without, if they are comparable prices then I would go for the one with the label…that says it is beneficial to the farmer"*) as many supported the idea of farmer welfare (*"there should be more emphasis on government and farmer relationships right now"*). There also appeared to be need for 'Self-direction', as expressed among some participants, which can be defined as the need to rely upon one's own informed and independent

choices as a consumer (Schwartz 1994) - *"See if you say clearly that this product exploits farmers then I won't buy it"*.

It is said that in order for fair trade to continue to make an impact in India, it must first "politicize the issue of rural poverty" (Doane 2013, para. 15), and this consciousness already appears to be gaining some momentum (Anand & Fairclough 2014). This was noted among some in this study who discussed the problem of corruption, 'black money' and income inequality - *"all the politicians who exist today everyone of them have black money! Today why is Anna* (reference to anti corruption campaigner Anna Hazare) *is taking a stand."* In general, when encouraging pro-social behaviours, it is said that, after awareness of the issue has been raised, the next step would depend upon the extent to which an individual feels the need to take responsibility for the issue, based upon perceived consequences of not doing so (Schwartz & Howard 1981). This was reflected in this study, as the consequences of not acting upon current environmental issues were highlighted - *"see what's happening to the water resources…it's diminishing day by day…if we aren't aware, what's going to happen tomorrow?"*. As a solution to this, some discussed water conservation measures at home - *"they* (squat lavatories commonly used in India) *don't consume so much water. The only consumption involved is using a bucket of water once a day. I told my husband that I will try and use an Indian pot"*. On a bigger scale, there are signs, across the country, of people wanting to live in a cleaner and greener India. One prominent example is a nationwide initiative called 'The Ugly Indian', which recruits volunteers to generate awareness of environmental pollution, in order to mobilise citizens into taking action (Ramakrishnan 2014; Nath 2014). The task has often been described as "saving us from ourselves" (Ramakrishnan 2014, para. 3).

5.6.1.2 Animal welfare foods: "I would prefer them knowing that the animals are not being harmed"

Like fair trade foods, empathy for animal-welfare was also evident among the 'Considerers' in this study - *"I would prefer them* (ethical foods) *knowing that the animals are not being harmed"*; *"if an animal is sick, it needs to be taken to the doctor!"*. This seems to indicate a biospheric orientation, which considers nature and its other life forms as having inherent value (Stern & Dietz 1994). Such attitudes, noted in this study, also seemed to align with wider social movements and sentiments where, in January 2014, India, under pressure from its citizens, became the first Asian country to ban animal testing for cosmetic products (Mukherjee 2014) and for household products such as cleaners and detergents (Ghosal 2014). In the previous year, in 2013, India officially recognised dolphins as non-human persons, which meant commercial practices, that involved the capture and confinement of these animals, were prohibited (Coelho 2013). To some extent, this also reflects the cultural ethos of a country which has, for centuries, worshipped nature and its animals as acknowledgement of man's symbiotic relationship with them (Chapple 1998; Sharma et al. 2014).

From a cultural perspective, the notion of 'moral vegetarianism' (Makiniemi, Pirttila-Backman & Pieri 2011) was another underlying factor. Hindu participants felt consumption of meat was *"wrong"* from a moral/religious standpoint while Muslim participants also discussed the mistreatment of animals as concerning, from an Islamic perspective - *"this shouldn't happen that sick animals were forcibly dragged and slaughtered…It is forbidden to slaughter sick animals in Islam."* Hence, besides the overt respect and commitment shown to one's traditions (i.e. Schwartz's value of 'Tradition'), this empathy towards animal welfare

foods was also indicative of 'Benevolence' or concern for the welfare of other beings (Schwartz 1994). The next section focuses on these religious/cultural associations in greater detail.

5.6.2 Perceived religious and cultural benefits: "Ethical is something which is related to our culture"

In general, food can be considered as a symbol of one's individual and collective identity, such as a cultural or religious identity, or as a demonstration of one's social power (Ogden 2010). Views in this study - *"Ethical is something which is related to our culture"*- reflected a sense of self that was organised according to one's external relationships (Eckhardt & Houston 1998). On a similar note, a study, on individualist and collectivist behaviour in India, revealed that individualist behaviour, besides serving one's own interests, is also intended to serve the wider group's interests (Sinha, Sinha, Verma & Sinha 2001). This was also observed in this study where, when defining ethics, individual values were often discussed in context of socio-cultural norms, which reflected the need for "acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide" (Schwartz 1994, p. 22).

Further to this, it is said that many people tend to underestimate the extent to which their behaviour is influenced by social norms because, while they may feel they are guided by their own values and beliefs, in actual fact "conformity occurs nonconsciously" (Pronin, Berger & Molouki 2007, p. 586). This can be termed as the 'introspection illusion' (Pronin et al. 2007). The influence of social norms and tradition, in shaping one's general outlook, was also observed here as participants

casually mentioned, *"when we think about tradition, we feel good inside isn't it?"*. Others acknowledged the influence of social tradition in their daily lives - *"I've helped continue our traditions because I'm following my parents…and I want this to continue…our customs need to keep moving on…carried on from generation to generation"*. This might account for similar such associations between tradition and ethical foods. However, when it comes to these traditional associations with ethical foods, there are certain cultural complexities worth taking note of. These have been summarised in the dot points below and discussed next:

- 5.6.2.1 – Defining "Traditional foods" and their implications
- 5.6.2.2 'Tradition' and front-stage and backstage behaviour

5.6.2.1 Defining "Traditional foods"

When it comes to understanding the term *"traditional foods",* it is worth noting that India is home to a large variety of indigenous faiths and cultural practices (The Registrar General & Census Commissioner 2011). Therefore, on the subject of food alone, "There are dozens if not hundreds of varieties of pulao, dosai and kebab. As in other areas of life, everybody has ones favourite version of a particular preparation and considers other local preparations as inferior or to be avoided" (Nandy 2004, p. 12). This was also highlighted in this study, where in response to tradition and ethical foods, it was stated – *"you go to South India, then idli vada dosa is their ethical food…and if you go to Haryana, then it's milk, curd"*. Hence, the term *"traditional"* seemed to mean different things to different participants as some indicated that, if ethical foods were to be made available in the local marketplace, *"it needs to be*

vegetarian". Others felt these would need to include non-vegetarian foods *"so that both sections of society can buy these foods"*.

When it comes to food preferences in India, Majumdar (2010, p. 2976/5262) suggests a combination of "mixing certain cultural beliefs with trendy products". Some participants indicated the same - *"Man's mindset is such is that no matter how modern he is or whatever his fashion sense is, he wishes to eat food that is pure [...] People like it when they associate their foods with their tradition."* Hence, despite changing lifestyles and the consumption of packaged and convenience foods (Frost & Sullivan 2013; Majumdar 2010), a recent newspaper article highlighted the fact that "Indians do not have the same preference for foreign brands that Chinese consumers show" ('The other Asian giant' 2011, para. 15). This was also indicated in this study - *"We've tried to embrace change but our tastes are such that we feel like eating those things* (reference to Indian foods and flavours)".

Although the definition of *"traditional foods"* might be complex where, in India, "the cultural diversity manifests itself in the 27 states" (Kumar 2009, para. 2), there were some common reactions noted in this study. When discussing a new concept like ethical foods, there appeared to be a certain excitement or 'Stimulation' relating to its novelty (Schwartz 1994) - *"if we are all together and if there's something new, we will try it"* – while also balancing this with the need to keep to familiar traditions – *"those that are traditional are good."* Hence, although 'Stimulation' and 'Tradition', as values, sit on opposite ends of the Schwartz value continuum, there may be a need to explore this overlap further – a unique blend that may reflect an underlying dissonance. This may also be indicative of the dissonance between 'Gandhian' values and the values of the contemporary Indian consumer

because it is said that, "while they are giving in to the demands of this new culture and are using it as a reference of upward mobility in society, they also critique it vehemently" (Mathur 2010, p. 226). This leads into the next key consideration pertaining to the religious and cultural associations with ethical foods i.e. front stage and backstage behaviour.

5.6.2.2 'Tradition' and front-stage and backstage behaviour

Front-stage and backstage behaviour, a key trait of collectivist culture, refers to differences in one's conduct in public and private settings (Eckhardt & Houston 1998). In this study, when discussing ethical foods and its religious associations, there also seemed to be an underlying need to preserve one's sense of social esteem – *"if you're considered a religious person, you have show the people that you are in […] otherwise you'll be ostracized!"* – thereby also reflecting the need to maintain front-stage behaviour.

When it comes to food, in general, Lupton (1996, p. 27) discusses the concept of "good food" and "bad food", where the former is not only about nourishment but also indicative of self-control whereas the latter may have a deeper level of "moral weakness" associated with it. Among participants in this study, *"wrong"* or 'bad food' was associated with non-vegetarian food as the act of consumption came with a sense of guilt and shame, which meant it had to be done *"on the sly"*. This seemed to reflect the need for 'Conformity' "which prescribes that individuals restrain impulses and inhibit actions" in order to ensure the smooth functioning of social and communal relationships (Schwartz 1994, p. 21).

When examining the effects of different situations on behaviour, Sinha et al. (2001, p. 143) state that Indians tend to consider "desh (place), kaal (time) and paatra (person)" in deciding how to respond. "Family as a place and family members as an ingroup" induce Indians to resort to collectivist behaviour whereas it is only in impersonal settings, such as a public place, that an individualist approach is taken (Sinha et al. 2001, p. 143). The implication is that attitudes and behaviour towards ethical foods also may differ, depending on the audience, as front-stage behaviour will have more role-playing elements to it than backstage behaviour (Eckhardt & Houston, 1998).

When considering the relationship between values and ethical consumption, it is worth noting that 'Self-respect' has been identified as an important guiding value as it straddles individual interests of enjoying the feeling of doing good as well as social interests in being seen, by others, as aware and informed about contemporary ethical issues (Shaw et al. 2005). In view of this, perhaps highlighting the benefit of 'Self-respect' to the socially conscious Indian consumer might be worth exploring. This is because it would include a combination of one's personal norms or "internalized values" (Schwartz & Howard, 1981, p. 192) such as the need *to buy things that are safe and where they* (animals) *are treated properly"* as well as perceived socially acceptable behaviours (Cialdini 2003) - *"foods that are good for the environment, planet…we will follow it* (as a trend)". This might also help bridge discrepancies between front and backstage behaviour as achieving 'Self-respect', at both an individual and social level, might be something the urban Indian consumer may well aspire to.

5.6.3 Ethical foods and their perceived "healthy" benefits

Another reason for the appeal of 'ethical foods' was due to its perceived association with *"healthy foods"*. When exploring the broader context, one may begin to understand why because, in India today, "Prosperity, to the utter consternation of many, has not produced easy access to and a larger choice of healthier and better food but a surfeit of non-nutritive, expensive, often seductive, cleverly marketed food" (Nandy 2004, p. 10). Furthermore, it is said that a "visitor to India's cities cannot help but be struck by the number of fast food joints and coffee shops as well as the numbers of overweight teenagers in them." ('India's Supersize Kids' 2013, para. 5). This might also explain why some, in this study, highlighted the marketing of *"junk food"* and *"artificial food"*, particularly to children, as being an ethical issue.

Furthermore, food is supposed to remedy some of the problems that food has itself created, such as obesity and other health-related issues (Nandy 2004). Given the problems with food contamination and adulteration, as discussed earlier in this chapter, many perceived 'ethical foods' as being the antithesis of such issues as they were seen to be *"fresh", "clean", "hygienic", "natural", "healthy"* and, in summary, foods that considered the health and welfare of the consumer. In addition, some also felt that 'ethical foods' were associated with a *"balanced diet"* because not only was such a diet part of a traditional *"belief system"* that *"has been passed on from grandmother to mother",* it was also considered to be *"a good diet"*, for health-related reasons, because *"Everything* (in a balanced diet) *has the right quantities."* Hence, against the backdrop of *"artificial"* and *"junk"* foods, such cultural practices were about preserving known and existing "social arrangements"

(Schwartz 1994, p. 25), thereby indicating an overlap between need to maintain 'Tradition' as well as seek 'Security' (Schwartz 1994).

In addition, there was also an association between health, ethical foods and *"home made foods"* as 'healthy food' may indicate the need to please and satisfy one's family, and may also stand as a symbol of "family love" (Ogden 2010, p. 72). Similarly in this study, amidst the perceived lack of concern for the consumer's welfare, *"home made food"* reflected the underlying motivation to look after the well-being of one's family i.e. the 'Benevolence' motivational value type (Schwartz 1994). This was particularly evident among the women's groups who felt it was important for such foods to reflect *"what's best for my family, for my kids"* and that *"they need to be good for the children's health"*.

With these factors in mind, it might be worth exploring if the concept of ethical foods could perhaps highlight its perceived 'healthy' benefits in a more holistic manner, in that these foods would not only offer benefits of being *"healthy"* and *"organic"* but also the psychological appeal of *"pure"* and *"clean"* foods that reflect the values of 'Universalism' and 'Benevolence'. In a world defined as one where *"nobody cares",* such foods might help extend the concept of care for one's immediate in-group to care for social and environmental causes that people might feel strongly about.

5.7 The 'Ambivalent' – attitudes and underlying influences

The 'Ambivalent' was a term given to those participants who seemed interested in the concept of ethical foods, but were not quite as readily accepting of it as the 'Considerers' as they had their uncertainties, questions and doubts. The diagram, below, is a summary of their attitudes as well as the motivational values, shown in dotted lines, that appeared to underpin these attitudes.
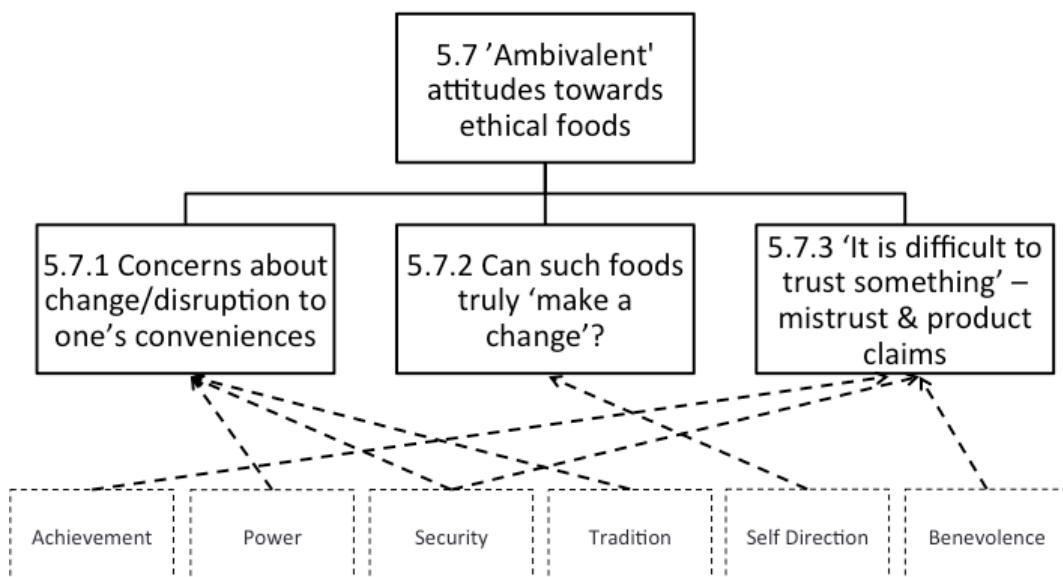
Diagram 28 - 'Ambivalent' attitudes towards ethical foods and underlying motivational values

5.7.1 Concern about disruption to habits and conveniences: "we can't just go…stop our lives"

Although some 'Ambivalent' participants found the concept of ethical foods to be appealing, many also felt that such a concept might be too inconvenient to consider – *"we can't just go…stop our lives, stop everything we're doing and go become an activist…fight for the farmers,*

starve to death that's not happening!". At a deeper level, this seemed to indicate a conflict between the three psychological states – id, ego and supergo – where, for example, the id may experience hunger but the ego may consider price and convenience, while the superego might question the moral implications of food choices as one psychological state may overpower another, depending upon the circumstances and resources available (Koger & Winter 2010). In addition, this also appeared to reflect a motivational overlap between 'Security' and 'Power' as a combination of these values has been defined as the need for wanting to feel in control of one's resources while also "avoiding or overcoming the threat of uncertainties" (Schwartz 1994, p. 25). This was noted in the discussions where many indicated – *"inflation is growing but salaries are not growing so fast so it affects the middle class"* and therefore *"we need such a product where its quality is good, quantity is right…and it suits our finances/budget"*.

Another concern was whether such foods might cater to local *"tradition"* and customs. When discussing the prospect of these new foods in the Indian marketplace, many indicated – *"you relate it in some way or the other with Indian culture"*. Catering to local tradition and culture has been already discussed, at some length, previously in this chapter. The next sections will focus on the understanding the other doubts and concerns of the 'Ambivalent' participants in more detail.

5.7.2 The need for information: Can such foods truly "make a change"?

As summarised in diagram 28, one of the key concerns, among the 'Ambivalent' participants, was their perceived inability to truly make a difference within the constraints of a corrupt and bureaucratic system - *"people don't have control over the entire bureaucracy so if my care cannot change the situation then you start getting indifferent towards it."* This is reflective of Ajzen's point, made earlier where, if perceived behavioural control is low, it might also result in low behavioural intention (Ajzen 1991). In addition, there was also scepticism noted towards the concept of ethical foods and green claims in general – *"Companies just use labels to increase their profits…like if you look at electricity consumption labels […] there's still no guarantee that you would use less electricity?"*

As a way forward then, Coff, Barling, Korthal & Nielsen (2008, p. 12) discuss the concept of "caring at a distance" where "long-range" ethics can be achieved through "short-range" ethics by making distant consequences more visible and tangible for the consumer. After all, human perception is "limited by location and point in time" (Manning 2009, p. 16) and, hence, such information can be presented by highlighting food production practices, through stories and other narrative forms, so as to bring it to life for the consumer (Coff et al., 2008). The desire to make informed self-directed choices was also expressed among participants in this study – *"Awareness…people need to be aware, in the media, in advertisements. Then they will start looking at these types of products".* In addition, companies can also help consumers become more socially conscious by providing them with "tangible, reliable information" about why a company's production footprint or ingredients

are better than the competition (Devinney, Auger & Eckhardt 2011, p. 2), while also allowing for claims to be verified through independent sources that can be easily accessed (Devinney et al. 2011). The need to verify the authenticity of product claims was also highlighted in this study – *"In India there is so much going on, you have check and re-check and be very stern and strict with checking something over here".* In addition, this also offered some insight into why many felt that a *"good brand"* might, to some extent, help alleviate some of these consumer concerns. This has been discussed in the next section.

5.7.3 Consumer mistrust and the power of a "good brand"

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, problems relating to corruption and food adulteration meant that many participants felt - *"We who buy foods in packets that are closed or sealed, certainly get these thoughts in our minds that there's something or the other inside...don't know whether this product is good or not."* These attitudes also appeared to reflect an underlying need for 'Security', which meant that a product's appearance of "clean, neat" (Schwartz 1994, p. 38) was indicative of its health and safety standards which, in turn, meant that it was something consumers could potentially trust. As some in this study indicated – *"People don't have the time to look at which way it's made, you just need to represent it nicely"* and therefore *"A packet of sugar…as in it needs to be absolutely clean, very clean so we will get that".*

Branded products, besides representing status value in India (Rao 1998; Mathur 2010), are also strongly associated with quality and trust (Mukherjee, Satija, Goyal, Mantrala & Zou 2012). This reflects the

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results of a recent study on brand consciousness in India, which revealed that, when it came to foods such as dietary supplements, respondents preferred branded products as these were perceived to have met government regulations as well as health and safety checks (Mukherjee et al. 2012). Similarly, many in this study felt that ethical foods must *"need to be sold in government approved shops, labelled by them [...] they need to check whether it is healthy, disease free"*.

The Brand Trust Report India Study 2014, which surveyed 2,500 consumers across 16 cities, indicated that a key variable contributing to brand trust was 'Perception Of Positive Intent' (Trust Advisory 2013). This variable has been defined as acting beyond one's "own narrow interest-areas" and is made up of factors like altruism, sincerity and social responsibility (Trust Advisory 2013, para. 6). This was also highlighted in this study where many felt - *"There are some companies…and we trust them in that their products must be good we'll start to believe in those companies."* When exploring participant attitudes in more detail, the motivational needs, behind these attitudes, seem to indicate a mix of 'Security' (i.e. safety in the knowledge that this is a brand *"we can trust")*, 'Benevolence' (i.e. a brand that reflects *"care"* for consumer welfare) and 'Achievement' (i.e. a demonstration of competence given one's association with a *"good brand")*. This highlights a unique motivational overlap, which is certainly worth exploring further.

In general, Indian consumers tend to perceive foreign brands as being of relatively superior quality (Kinra, 2006). This was also discussed by participants - *"local brands are fine but if you were to go the shop and complain about it what can they do? But if you go to a big branded store then perhaps those people will listen"*. However, that said, there is also great importance placed upon local heritage (Sinha, 2011; Talwar, 2013)

as according to the same brand trust study, Mahatma Gandhi was ranked as India's most trusted personality followed then by personalities from contemporary culture (Brand Trust Report India 2014). This sentiment was also highlighted in this study where it was stated - *"you relate it* (a brand of ethical foods) *in some way or the other with Indian culture*" because *"those that are traditional are good"*.

Today, India's young and ambitious middle-class is experiencing a renewed sense of optimism for what the future holds (Sinha 2011; Mahr 2014; Abdoolcarim 2014). This new wave of hope could also indicate a potential opportunity for a concept like ethical foods as it embodies the things that the new India wants i.e. transparency, honesty, a better quality of life and inclusion for all. The fact that such foods were deemed *"good for the earth",* by some participants*,* might potentially mean they could become a symbol for change amidst this sense of hope and optimism.

5.8 The 'Less Interested' – attitudes and underlying influences

The 'Less Interested' was a term given to participants who seemed least interested in the concept of ethical foods. These attitudes appeared to arise from a mix of both individual attitudes as well as a perceived lack of social significance related to these foods - *"nobody cares about what's ethical or ethical food*". The diagram below depicts a summary of their attitudes and their corresponding motivational values:
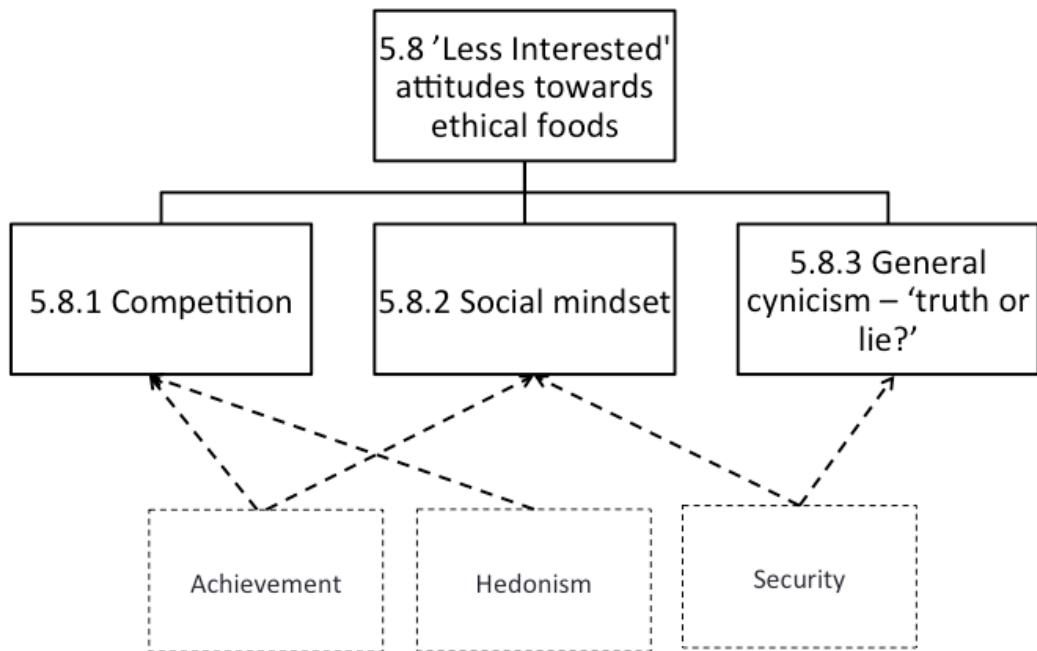
Diagram 29 - The 'Less Interested' attitudes towards ethical foods and underlying motivational values

5.8.1 Competition: "everyone wants to succeed in their future so it is important to keep up"

Given the need to get ahead in the urban rat race, many indicated that *"people don't have time to even be with their families, they are working day & night"*. Hence, motivated by 'Achievement' and the desire for personal success, some participants felt – *"nobody has time [….] nobody cares if the farmers are being exploited."* This seems to be reflective of one of the urban trends where longer working hours, cut throat competition and pre-occupation with consumption appears to be creating a generation of young Indians who are self-centred and unsympathetic (Panvel 2013). This was also noted in this study where some indicated - *"today everyone is selfish"*- as the priority seems to be that *"if my friend has the latest mobile I also want to get the latest mobile, new clothes…it is competition"*. These attitudes reflect an overlap

between 'Achievement' and 'Hedonism' as, together, these values are about seeking "self-centered satisfaction" (Schwartz 1994, p. 24), which might also explain why a concept like ethical foods was of less concern and relevance to this group of participants.

5.8.2 The social mindset: "As long as the thinking doesn't change, nothing will change."

In a recent article, titled 'We are a rude people', Soondas (2006, para. 3) highlights a culture where "Nowhere else in the world will you see people sticking gum on bus seats they have vacated. Nowhere else will you see artistic blade jobs on train berths. Nor do people of cities in other parts of the world spit at pedestrians from running buses". Similarly, when asked about the role of ethical foods in India, it was stated that *"people after cleaning their homes, fill up water in their buckets and throw it out onto the roads. This is wrong. They keep their homes pristinely clean and spit outside wherever they want […] As long as the thinking doesn't change, nothing will change."*

The challenge here appears to run deeper than simply just a pre-occupation with 'Achievement' and 'Hedonism', as discussed in the previous section, as there also seems to be an inherent lack of consciousness of issues beyond one's immediate concerns. It is also interesting to note the contrast where, on the one hand, some defined ethics as building *"relationships with our family and…neighbours, my friends"* while, on the other hand, such differences raise the question as to whether these attitudes of care and concern may only extend to one's in-group, beyond which it may not matter to the individual. This could perhaps be the case given that some, in response to the concept of ethical

foods, indicated - *"first we will see our child, our family, our self and then planet & then everything like environment."*

5.8.3 Scepticism: "We worship those as long as we don't find out the truth about them"

As discussed earlier in this chapter, many indicated that *"It's difficult to trust something completely […] by looking at the labels we can't tell that this is right or wrong."* While increasing consumer awareness and providing information about ethical foods is important, it also seems that there was a sense of scepticism towards this concept as well as broader issues, in general. As highlighted by some in this study – *"We worship those as long as we don't find out the truth about them."* On the subject of cynicism in India, it is said that "We converted it into such an art form that there was cynicism about everything that pretended to be anything other than cynicism" (Mehta 2014, para. 2). Recent examples of this range from the Supreme Court's refusal to nominate a judge to legislate tests for GMO foods as it was felt that "allegations and counter-allegations will start" ('SC refuses to nominate judge to head GMO committee' 2012, para. 3), to underlying reasons behind India's mission to Mars where, besides expanding the country's scientific frontiers, this was also about "about stirring the spirit and boosting pride in a dispirited nation stuck in a cynical, divisive time" (Halarnkar 2013 para. 13). Such attitudes might also explain the cautious cynicism expressed in this study - *"if you take a farmer and you tell him that his production will be doubled by using this type of chemical he will think of his production not about the people".* In view of the many challenges that exist in Indian society, such cynicism towards the concept of ethical foods might

perhaps be understandable but, when compared to the other attitudes that emerged in this study, these would also be harder to address.

5.9 Conclusions

Over the last decade, as awareness of health-related issues continue to increase, Indian consumers have sought products perceived to be "risk-free and healthy" (Majumdar 2010, p. 4493/5262). However, on a broader scale, in order to reduce the ecological footprint of one of the world's most populous countries, it is also important to understand the interconnectedness between health, the environment, food production and consumption (Selvey & Carey 2013). When it comes to understanding ethical decision-making, values research can make a significant contribution (Shaw et al. 2005) because ethical consumption is a "value issue", regardless of whether an individual's values are activated over human, animal or environmental welfare (Weeden 2013, p. 62).

This chapter uses Schwartz's values to provide some initial thought and context for understanding what might have shaped participant attitudes in this study. This has been summarised in the diagram below:
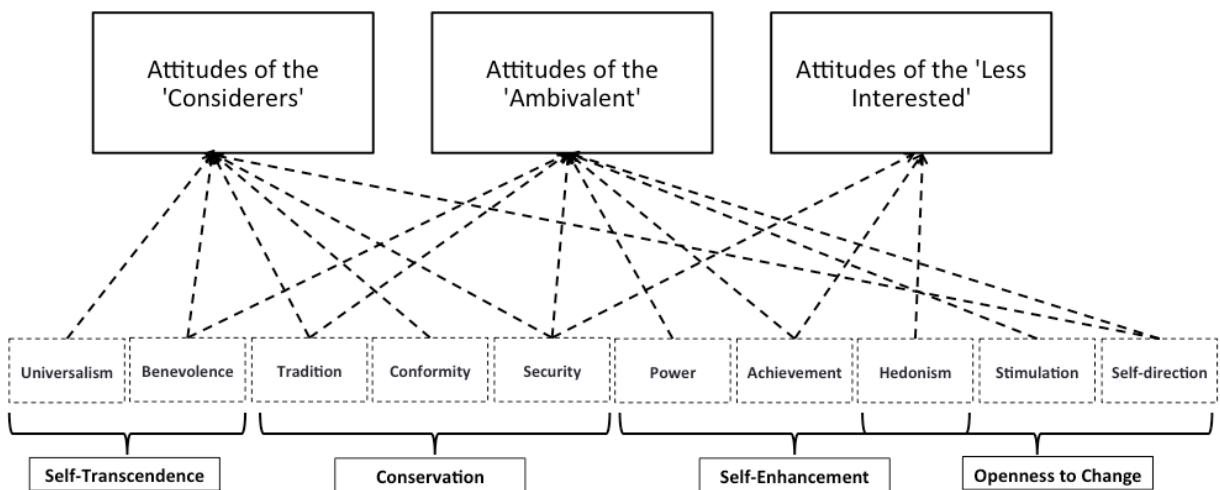
Diagram 30 - Attitudes of the three typologies and underlying motivational values

As seen in this diagram, there seemed to be more of a values overlap between the 'Considerers' and the 'Ambivalent' as many of these participants switched back and forth between their positive attitudes towards the concept of ethical foods and their doubts and uncertainties towards it. In general, the 'Considerer' participants appeared to reflect the values of 'Self-Transcendence' as well as adjacent values such as 'Self-Transcendence' and 'Conservation', and 'Self-Transcendence' and 'Openness to change'. In contrast, the 'Less interested' seemed more inclined towards 'Achievement' and other similar values related to 'Self Enhancement'. Attitudinal conflict was most evident among the 'Ambivalent' group, who shared some of the enthusiasm of the 'Considerers' but yet reflected some of the scepticism of the 'Less Interested'. When it came to ethical foods, their desire to buy from *"a good brand that we trust"* seemed to reflect an overlap between the need for 'Achievement' (*"good brand"*), 'Security' (*"trust") and* 'Benevolence' *("care")*. The other conflict noted was their desire to try

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"something new" (Stimulation) while also expressing the need to remain with their *"traditional foods"* (Tradition).

On this subject of conflicting values, a recent study by Shaw et al. (2005) identified 'Consumer Power' to be an important value among consumers who shopped for ethical products. It is interesting to note that although, on the Schwartz value continuum, 'Power' lies opposite to 'Benevolence', in this context it was about those who "valued their power as a consumer and exercised this power through the consumption of ethical grocery products" (Shaw et al. 2005, p. 195). This aspect of power has not been included in Schwartz's value model (Shaw et al. 2005) and, similarly, this raises questions as to what types of power and/or achievement values might be relevant for the Indian consumer who may lean towards 'Self-Enhancement' and look at ethical consumerism as a way to boost their social esteem, particularly as some in this study indicated - *"If it is important to the generation then it is important to us"*. This also highlights the point about 'egoistic values', which predispose "people to protect aspects of the environment that affect them personally" (Stern & Dietz 1994, p. 70) as more evident among the 'Less Interested' participants. On the other hand, 'altruistic' and 'biospheric' values are where individuals judge phenomena based upon benefits to a human group or the broader biosphere, respectively (Stern & Dietz 1994), as noted, more commonly, among the 'Considerers' and among some of the 'Ambivalent' participants. Given that there has been limited application of understanding values within the ethical consumption context (Shaw et al. 2005), it indicates a knowledge gap and the need to explore this further. The next chapter – 'Considerations and Future Directions' – discusses some of these potential directions in greater detail.

Chapter 6 – Considerations & Future Directions

"Let us sacrifice our today so that our children can have a better tomorrow" – Dr. Abdul Kalam

This purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the findings from this study, discuss the significance of these findings in relation to the current literature, provide an overview of the limitations and explore future directions for research on this topic.

6.1 Key findings from this study

The literature on attitudes and behaviour, relating to environmentalism in India, is sparse as awareness and knowledge of such concepts is generally low (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012; Mahapatra 2013). While there was low awareness of ethical foods, noted in this study as well, there were some key attitudes noted towards the concept, in general, and these might help extend our understanding of the relevance of such a concept within India. A summary of these attitudes that emerged towards ethical foods is presented below:

- The concept of 'ethical foods' was strongly associated with religion, tradition and health.
- There were contradictions noted between public and private behaviours i.e. front-stage and backstage behaviours, especially when

it came to certain religious, traditional and social protocols, of which ethical foods were perceived to be a part of.

- While there was the need to preserve familiar tradition, there was also a desire to embrace change.
- There was a mix of attitudes towards socially and environmentally friendly foods, with some being more positive and others being less so for various individual and social reasons.

The religious and cultural associations with the term 'ethical foods', as noted in this study, seemed to reflect India's collectivist orientation (The Hofstede Centre 2014). The concept of 'ethics' was defined as *"something which is related to our culture"* and similarly, the term 'ethical foods' was perceived as such - *"If we talk about ethics, then Hinduism comes into it"*.

The current literature on behaviours in collectivist societies highlights potential differences between front-stage and backstage behaviours (Eckhardt & Houston 1998). However, to date, there does not appear to be any research on exploring this within the context of green behaviours. Findings from this study indicate there might be a need to do so, as attitudes and behaviours towards 'ethical foods' were noted to differ based upon public and private settings - *"holy men & Brahmins, it's not like they don't like eggs or meat…in front of people they will behave. On the quiet/sly, they will smoke and drink."* To some extent, such attitudes towards ethical foods were also reflective of the consumption dissonance faced by the contemporary Indian consumer (Mathur 2010). This is because, while there was a need to preserve familiar tradition - *"we always follow our tradition"* - there was also the

desire to embrace change - *"We're living in the 21st century it depends on you...whatever you want to eat."*

When discussing fair trade and animal welfare foods in more detail, some seemed to like the general notion of a common good while others expressed doubts and uncertainties towards such foods. While previously identified barriers, such as low levels of awareness and availability of green products (Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012; Mahapatra 2013), were also noted in this study, there were additional barriers uncovered. These included catering to the diverse needs of *"middle-class families"* as some, in this study, highlighted that the health and safety of one's environment ought to be considered first *("See the road how dirty it is! We use that on a daily basis")*; others mentioned their social priorities *("We need to look after our children, our families")* and still others indicated the need to get ahead in the *"competitive world in India."* These various *"needs and wants"* were reflective of the different attitudes towards the concept of ethical foods, and these might also be indicative of different value orientations.

6.2 Significance of the findings in relation to the current literature on ethical consumption in India

Several studies have indicated that information, provided to Indian consumers, about the benefits of green products are necessary in order to increase consideration (Jain & Kaur 2004; Maheswari & Malhotra 2011; Gill 2012). The findings from this study concurred with these findings but also offered additional insight in that the need for such information was not only about increasing knowledge, but it seemed equally about

addressing consumer mistrust and uncertainty. Hence, it was felt that such foods needed to be sold through known, "trusted" channels to address concerns about "cheating" regarding product labelling and authenticity.

On a deeper note, there was also some scepticism noted towards environmentally friendly claims. Koger & Winter (2010, p. 510/8203) state that the environmental sceptic, in general, tends to be of the view that environmental challenges can be overcome with technology and human ingenuity, and that concerns about social justice "are merely the most current version of the Marxist version of a world collapsing because of evil capitalism." However, the scepticism noted in this study appeared to be of a different nature. Several sources have indicated that the cynicism, in India today, seems to arise mainly from the frustration with the socio-political chaos and mistrust towards the system (Halarnkar 2013; Mehta 2014). Similarly, in this study, there were questions about the consumer's ability to *"make a change"* against the backdrop of the current *"bureaucracy"* as *"trust"* was cited as a key factor. Hence, it seems that this scepticism was reflective of the attitudes and social challenges that were unique to Indian society.

When it comes to consumer willingness to pay for green products, a study revealed that personal benefit emerged as the main driver, followed then by other factors (Mahapatra 2013). This was also reflected in these findings but the study also provided some additional insight into why this was the case as many felt that *"in 100% of all foods, 95% have some form of adulteration or another."* This, compounded by the problem of corruption where it was felt *"the government just wants money",* meant that such a concept, which was perceived to offer a

solution or some kind of relief from these pervasive challenges, was deemed as 'ethical' for the individual consumer.

On a social level, the importance of ethical foods having traditional associations seemed to reflect the attitudes of India's 'Transition Generation', aged 25-44 years, who have been described as wanting to "nourish the practices of yesterday with the resources of today" (Sinha 2011, p. 173). On the other hand, it is said the younger generation, aged 15-24 years, seek to define their own individuality (Sinha 2011). That said, some participants in this study, who belonged to the same age group as the 'Transition Generation', did not seem to place much importance upon traditional values at all as they felt the concept of ethical foods was *"subjective"*, based upon individual values. This might indicate that attitudinal differences may not arise simply from demographic differences but perhaps due to different value orientations as well. Hence, when it comes to future studies on ethical foods in India, attitudinal differences, and their influences, within and across these generations would be worth considering.

6.3 Limitations in this study

This section discusses the methodological limitations of this study and comprises of the following sub-sections:

- 6.3.1: Objectivity in qualitative research
- 6.3.2: Discussion on topics that were deemed sensitive
- 6.3.3: Cultural power imbalances noted during data collection
- 6.3.4: Limitations with understanding the cultural context
- 6.3.5: The definition of 'urban India'

6.3.1 Objectivity in qualitative research

Interpretation in qualitative research tends to start with the researcher's own assumptions and worldviews (Firmin 2008). This is because most human and social knowledge is perspectival and, hence, many "true statements" can simultaneously be made about the same social object (Johnson 2008, p. 480). Even statistical research methods can "presuppose the nature of what exists and how it can be understood" as they do not provide neutral access to a reality outside of ourselves (Gallagher 2008, p. 912). Therefore some degree of subjectivity and researcher reflexivity is to be expected within the findings of this study.

General unfamiliarity with the term 'ethical foods' meant it had to be described using examples such as fair trade and animal welfare foods. Hence, the framing of the research question i.e. definition of 'ethical foods' may, to some extent, reflect the researcher's own values about "what is important or worthy as opposed to trivial or inconsequential" (Gallagher 2008, p. 912). Although the researcher cannot truly obtain objective knowledge, it is still possible to achieve reasonably accurate depictions of what is deemed as reality (Gallagher 2008). This explains the relativist ontological approach to data gathering, used in this study, where the definition "ethical foods" involved the gathering of unprompted, spontaneous perspectives and opinions from different participants while also attempting to minimise researcher involvement – as discussed in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology). That said, it is worth highlighting that, during the process of inquiry, both "the researcher and research participants are seen as present, and meaning is constructed and interpreted in the interaction between these two positionalities" (Brodsky 2008, p. 767). Hence, there are limitations in making sense of multiple

realities as researcher reflexivity cannot truly be separated from epistemology, ontology or research practice (Mauthner & Doucet 2003).

6.3.2 Sensitive topics

During the course of the fieldwork, certain questions that attempted to get behind some existing cultural beliefs and practices were initially met by a reserved silence among some participants. For instance, this question, asked in response to participant feedback, – *"In terms of 'clothing'...why is it a value?"* – was met with an awkward silence. Further to this point, it is said that, at times, the researcher might need to rely on key informants to learn about sensitive topics, appropriate language, cultural context and questions asked (Morgan & Guevara 2008). The informant, in this case, was the local market research agency, who helped with the recruitment and advised that this study ought to have separate groups of Hindu and Muslim participants. Furthermore, the pilot study also helped provide guidance on questions that needed to be worded appropriately, as detailed in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology). Nonetheless, the researcher still ought to be sensitive to the unintentional impact their "gender or class" might have on data collection (Low 2008, p. 780) as, for example, "Muslim women are unlikely to participate in interviews with a male researcher" (Low 2008, p. 780). Similarly, at certain points, the discussions occasionally encountered "very brief informant responses" and short pauses of silence, which meant it became necessary to reconfirm participant consent before proceeding with the discussions (Low 2008, p. 780). This was particularly evident among the group of Muslim males where questions about values and religion, and perhaps coming from a female moderator, might have raised such cultural

"boundary violations" (McGinn 2008, p. 771). An example includes this response, in relation to halal foods, expressed in a rather curt manner – *"We don't know the actual details about that…we've been told that by our saints etc what they preach we just accept it"*. Hence, while the discussion continued with its course of questions, it had to be accepted that certain topics could not be explored more deeply.

6.3.3 Power imbalances

Although, focus groups may "defuse" some of the power imbalances that may arise in one-on-one interviews, there can still be imbalances that arise in face-to-face focus groups (Gordon & Langmaid 1998; Chase 2000; Heary & Hennessey 2002; Nicholas, Lach, King, Scott, Boydell, Sawatzky, Reisman, Schippel & Young 2010). The culture of high power distance in Indian society indicates an inclination towards a more strictly defined social hierarchy (The Hofstede Centre 2014). Furthermore, given the preference for belonging to the larger social framework in collectivist Indian culture (The Hofstede Centre 2014) meant that attitudes and behaviour, considered as socially inappropriate, may have caused participants to feel they might be judged or that "harm may even be brought to the reputations of their community" (Ogden 2008, para. 3). An example included one participant's response on the general subject of respecting one's elders – *"I've seen lots of cases where one's dad drinks a lot and it disturbs the entire family"*. This participant then stopped discussing the topic further possibly due to being conscious of the others in the room. Other examples included laughter and/or mockery among some towards others on the subject of *"eating meat"*, which is considered to be *"unethical"* among traditional Hindus.

During the course of a focus group, vocal and dominant members may also, either consciously or subconsciously, exert peer pressure on "weaker" members to adopt their opinions thereby discouraging genuine participation (Nicholas et al. 2010, p. 109). Although there was a conscious effort undertaken, as discussed in the methodology chapter, to elicit responses from quieter participants and derive the "intentional and correct meaning" (Gordon & Langmaid 1998, p. 58), there were still such responses, from certain participants - *"I would say whatever my friend here is saying"*. Hence, "no matter how empathetic the researcher or how trusting the participants", there will be an asymmetric balance of power during the focus group process (Leckie 2008, p. 777).

6.3.4 The cultural context

The focus group mode of data collection largely involved an etic perspective (an external social scientific perspective on reality) whereas an exploratory study, relating to a relatively new concept like ethical foods, would have benefitted from an additional emic perspective, which would be the insider's reality (Fetterman 2010). Although there were constraints on the time and cost for this study, an additional emic perspective may have allowed for a deeper understanding of what *"our culture", "ethics"* and *"family values"* really mean. After all, food culture in India is "associated not only with traditional concepts of health, illness, and nutrition or serves as a cultural marker of status, taste, and cultivation, but also carries the reflections of personal and collective milestones" (Nandy 2004, p. 17). Hence, subsequent research might have pushed our understanding relating to "specific claims about epistemology (i.e., how one comes to know), ontology (i.e., the nature of human existence), and axiology (i.e., one's values)" (Owen 2008, p. 548).

An additional emic approach may have also encouraged "careful reflection on issues such as the way(s) in which researchers position themselves in relation to the study participants, the way(s) in which participants in turn position themselves in relation to the researcher, and the researcher's interpretations of participants' life experiences" (Leckie 2008, p. 777). Therefore, although focus groups were suitable for an "introduction to the views of a variety of participants" (Morgan 2008, p. 354), these could have been accompanied by additional modes of qualitative data collection as "Cultural context is an essential element of any research" (Morgan & Guevara 2008, p. 182). This has been discussed further in this chapter, in the section on 'Future Directions'.

6.3.5 The definition of 'urban India'

While this study was conducted among residents of Gurgaon and New Delhi, the reality is that India's diversity does not permit the development one standardised solution as, rather than being a single market, it comprises a "mass of niches" (*Business Standard India* 2008, p. 204). Hence, the very term *"traditional foods",* in view of this diversity, may need to be explored in greater detail.

One key factor to bear in mind is the phenomenon of the 'Two States' i.e. the cultural rivalry, between Northern and Southern India (Iyer 2014). The north tends to be associated with materialistic ostentation (Desai 2008) as the "shimmer of lights and the rustle of silk, represent a hedonism that, to a few, is nothing but moral aridity" (Oberoi 2009, para. 5). On the other hand, given there is "the categorization of the South as the lesser other — a strange being from another world, to be looked at

with patronizing curiosity" (Desai 2008, para. 2). This further indicates that a view of 'one-size fits all' is not quite reflective of 'urban India'.

Kumar (2009) highlights the importance of symbolic associations and aspiration-based brand imagery as "The Delhi snob" (Singh 2011, para. 2) has been known to "pick up key words like truffles, caviar, and molecular just so that he can deploy them when in deserving company" (Singh 2011, para. 3). Hence, it may be then that responses, within this study, relating to making 'ethical foods' *"cool"* and reflective of the *"trend"*, along with certain front-stage and backstage behaviours, may need to be explored within the context of these unique cultural eccentricities. This is because *"the right"* symbolic associations may only really be right for just Delhi.

6.4 Future directions

Taking the key themes of this research and limitations into account, this section discusses potential future directions. The first sub-section discusses the how these findings might guide policy and practice relating to ethical foods among industry and government bodies. The subsequent sections then go on to discuss potential future avenues for research. A summary of these sections have been presented below:

- 6.4.1: Implications for practice among industry and government
- 6.4.2: Exploring the cultural interpretations of 'ethical foods'
- 6.4.3: Exploring the role of values in ethical orientations
- 6.4.4: Exploring the influence of social norms on ethical behaviours

6.4.1 Implications for practice among industry and government bodies

The findings from this study indicate the need to, firstly, increase the level of awareness and knowledge relating to ethical foods in India. One of the key ways to do so is through product labelling while simultaneously also providing consumers with information about the benefits of ethical foods. As indicated by many participants - *"if I were given two products one with the label and one without, if they are comparable prices then I would go for the one with the label…that says it is beneficial to the farmer"*. The importance of providing consumers with such information has also been highlighted in other studies (Jain & Kaur 2005; Coff et al., 2008; Devinney et al. 2011; Gill 2012).

There is then the additional need to sell these products through known and *"trusted"* channels of distribution. In fact, the importance of a *"good brand"* was highlighted among many participants - *"Branded goods are more expensive but we trust them because they are better than the others."* On the other hand, others in this study felt it was important for such foods to be endorsed by the government rather than private corporations as some stated, *"Rather than business tycoons, I would recommended government owned shops"* and that these foods *"need to be sold in government approved shops, labelled by them […] they need to check whether it is healthy, disease free."* Hence, understanding consumer expectations and what *"trust"* actually means, within the local consumer context, is also important for a company in order to effectively cater to the diverse market needs.

There is also the need to ensure that these foods are accessible to the Indian middle-class and, in this study, this largely meant addressing

'availability' (*"these things need to be near our homes"*) and affordability (*"a price range that the middle-class families can afford"*). These are important factors to take note of as foods, both fresh and preserved, account for a third of urban Indian household expenditure and are bought largely from local neighbourhood stores due to easier access (Mukherjee et al. 2012). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, creating *"availability"* and a *"suitable"* pricing strategy would need to be considered in another study. However, there are some key points that would be worth noting for a start. Currently, modern retailing accounts for only 5% of India's total retail market (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2012) as the retail landscape is dominated by individually run and owned retail outlets called 'kiranas' that are spread out across the country (Mukherjee & Kalbag 2011). This could make addressing product *"availability"* challenging. However, modern retail in India is expected to grow six-fold by 2020 (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2012) with food being one of the largest segments (Mukherjee et al. 2012). In addition, foreign retailers have the option of opening single-brand stores as there is already a significant presence of such stores in the major urban centres (Sinha 2011; Mukherjee et al. 2012). Hence, for now, this may be a potential avenue that a foreign brand or manufacturer might consider.

When it comes to product development, customisation for the distinct characteristics of the Indian consumer is key (Sinha 2011; Mukherjee et al. 2012; Jones 2012). Some rather ingenious product marketing strategies, highlighted by Jones (2012), which have also addressed challenges relating to availability and affordability in India, are as follows:

- **The Tata Nano car** – the car's small size, agility and cost effective mileage made it an ideal fit for India's dense urban roads as its target market included the two-wheeler urban drivers who could previously not afford to upgrade to a car.

- **Amazon's Indian version 'Flipkart'** – this product worked around India's infrastructure issues by employing a mobile sales force on motorcycles to help make its products accessible to the hard to reach semi-urban and rural consumer market.

- **Men's shaving products by Proctor & Gamble** – these were designed to overcome usage barriers as they were specifically manufactured for Indian consumers living in areas where water scarcity was a problem.

- **Unilever's products –** shampoos and medicinal products from this company have been sold in individual sachets, instead of whole packs, thereby catering to the Indian consumer who cannot afford to buy in bulk. On a per unit basis, this has worked out to be more profitable for the manufacturer thereby creating a win-win situation for both the consumer and the manufacturer.

Hence, by understanding the mindset and circumstances that are unique to India, it might help inspire similar such opportunities to address the challenge of accessibility relating to ethical foods.

At a brand level, many indicated that such foods need to be *"fresh,* *"healthy"* and wholesome while also reflecting the characteristics of *"Indian culture".* As discussed earlier, the cultural diversity in India would mean customising these foods to reflect *"local tradition"* and *"tastes".* Additional factors related to this have been discussed in the

next section along with the importance of considering the influence of social norms upon the individual consumer. This would be applicable to both the traditionally oriented and modern consumer in urban India.

6.4.2 Exploring the cultural interpretations of 'ethical foods'

One of the first questions that emerges from this research is how might 'ethical foods' be defined across India's diverse cultures? Geographically, India can be classified into 4 major regions – Eastern India, Southern India, Western India and Northern India, which also includes central India – and each have their own peculiarities related to food and culture (Majumdar 2010). In terms of just language alone, the Hindi-speaking states mainly exist in the North and North-west of India (Majumdar 2010) and Hindi is not commonly spoken in Southern India (Rao 2014). Across the country, there are close to 800 languages spoken (Singh 2013) and hence, for a start, it might be worth exploring various interpretations of the term 'ethical foods'. That said, it is also important to recognise the distinction between being 'bilingual' and 'bicultural' as members of subcultures may share a common language but yet may engage in practices that might be completely different to one another (Morgan & Guevara 2008). Therefore, understanding the term 'ethical foods', as well as the different cultural nuances associated with it, would be an important consideration for the future.

6.4.3 Exploring the role of values in ethical orientations

It is said values are the "most stable determinants of environmental behaviour" (Koger & Winter 2010, p. 1973/8203) as

values can transcend situations and guide the "selection or evaluation of behaviour, people, and events" (Schwartz 1994, p. 20). Hence, the influence of values may offer insight into such attitudes where, for example, it was felt *"nobody cares if the farmers are being exploited"* as one's in-group was deemed more important. This also appears to reflect 'speciesism', a type of prejudice, where people are inclined to give priority to their own in-group as they believe other beings may have less relevance or importance (Singer 1995) – an attitude which may also extend to other groups of people (Koger & Winter 2010).

Moving forward, one of the directions might be to understand the values of Indian society in the context of ethical consumption, and it would be worth exploring if there are certain values that might be unique to Indian consumer culture. This could also encompass understanding conflicting values where, for example "the pursuit of achievement values may conflict with the pursuit of benevolence values […] In like manner, the pursuit of tradition values conflicts with the pursuit of stimulation values" (Schwartz 1994, p. 23) as also noted in this study. Other directions could also include the Value Belief Norm (VBN) framework, which explores how values can influence beliefs about the environment which, in turn, influence personal norms and action (Stern 2000). As mentioned in the previous chapter, there has been limited application of values within the context of ethical consumption (Shaw et al. 2005) and this highlights the need to consider this for future studies.

6.4.4 Exploring the influence of social norms and ethical behaviours

When it comes to differences between individualist and collectivist societies, 'maturity values', which is "understanding and accepting differences in ideas and behaviour", are deemed more important in individualist societies, whereas in collectivist societies it could be seen as a challenge to the incumbent tradition (Schwartz 1990, p. 154). However, in some collectivist cultures, being seen by others "to tolerate differences" could become a social expectation in itself, which may explain why this value lies in close proximity to the value of 'Conformity' (Schwartz 1990, p. 154). This was also noted in the current study where some discussed *"giving importance to someone's values"* but yet there was also emphasis placed upon the need to *"rise to the expectations of the community, family and friends"*.

The influence of social norms on behavioural intentions has already been highlighted in Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). In addition, Cialdini (2003) classifies these norms into descriptive norms and injunctive norms where the former refers to the perception of average social behaviours, while the latter refers to the perception of socially approved or disapproved behaviours. For example, a recent study on recycling behaviour, among hotel guests in North America, indicated that normative messages were most effective when they combined both descriptive elements ("Nearly 75% of hotel guests choose to reuse their towels each day") as well as injunctive elements ("Many of our guests have expressed to us their approval of conserving energy"), thus indicating the need to use both, in parallel, to encourage behaviour change (Schultz, Khazian & Zaleski 2008, p. 8). Similarly, understanding

the relative influences of these norms in Indian society might also be worth exploring in future studies.

Social diffusion, "transmitted by subtle features of a situation or by hearing what other people are doing", can also be helpful when attempting to change behaviour (Koger & Winter 2010, p. 1820/8203). An example might be the influence from one's reference group, which includes those who are "liked or respected" (Koger & Winter 2010, p. 1833/8203). The influence of such reference groups was also highlighted in this study where one participant claimed – *"on the news I hear that Kareena Kapoor* (Indian actress*) has stopped eating non vegetarian…now that she has stopped non veg so people will start following her."* Hence, in a culture where there is a distinct social hierarchy, exploring social diffusion from opinion leaders and reference groups and the impact upon public attitudes, when it comes to ethical attitudes and behaviours, might be worth considering. These, along with the other points mentioned in this chapter, could yield some interesting and potentially useful insights into the topic of ethical foods and ethical consumerism in India.

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Appendix 1 – Classification of segments

- The Indian socio-economic classification (SEC) (The Market Research Society of India 2011, pp. 9-11)

Just two questions
THAT NEED TO BE ASKED

SHOW CARD/READ OUT

Q1a Please take a look at this list and tell me which of these items do you have at home? (It could be owned by you, your family, or provided by the employer or it could be available in the house you live in; but it should be for the use of just you or your family)

EXPLAIN, IF NECESSARY:
We have a standard list of items that we use in all kinds of cities and villages. So don't worry if an item appears irrelevant for you, or too ordinary- just go ahead and tell me which items do you have. We need this information just for survey purpose only.

Do you have a…(ITEM) in your home (which is in working condition)?
CIRCLE ITEMS OWNED/HAVE AT HOME. TICK THE ITEM IF OWNED. ADD THE NO. OF TICKS IN THE BOX.

Q1b Does your family own any agricultural land, by agricultural land I mean land that is currently under cultivation or plantation?

SHOW CARD/READ OUT

Q2 Could you tell me something about the person who makes the biggest contribution to the running of the household. To what level has he studied?
RECORD IN GRID. USE GRID TO DETERMINE NEW SEC.

9 | THE NEW SEC SYSTEM

RECORDING
The grid

o1

Items owned / have access at home	Circle	Tick
Electricity Connection	01	√
Ceiling Fan	02	√
LPG Stove	03	√
Two Wheeler	04	√
Colour TV	05	√
1a Refrigerator	06	√
Washing Machine	07	
Personal Computer/ Laptop	08	
Car/Jeep/Van	09	√
Air Conditioner	10	
1b Agricultural Land	11	√
NUMBER OF STANDARD 11 OWNED		8

10 | THE NEW SEC SYSTEM

RECORDING
The grid

o2

No. of Durables (TRANSFER FROM Q1)	Chief Earner: Education (Q2)						
	Illiterate	Literate but no formal schooling/ School- Upto 4 years	School- 5 to 9 years	SSC/ HSC	Some College (incl a Diploma) but not Grad	Graduate/ Post Graduate: General	Graduate/ Post Graduate: Professional
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
None	E3	E2	E2	E2	E2	E1	D2
1	E2	E1	E1	E1	D2	D2	D2
2	E1	E1	D2	D2	D1	D1	D1
3	D2	D2	D1	D1	C2	C2	C2
4	D1	C2	C2	C1	C1	B2	B2
5	C2	C1	C1	B2	B1	B1	B1
6	C1	B2	B2	B1	A3	A3	A3
7	C1	B1	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2
8	B1	A3	A3	A3	A2	A2	A2
9 +	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2	A1	A1

11 | THE NEW SEC SYSTEM

Appendix 2 – Recruitment guide & forms

- Appendix 2.1: Information consent form during recruitment process for pilot interviews and focus groups

- Appendix 2.2: Recruitment guide for focus groups

<u>Appendix 2.1 - Information Consent Form</u>

Curtin University of Technology, Graduate School of Business

Informed Consent Form

My name is Tani Khara and I am a postgraduate student in the School of Business at Curtin University of Technology. I am currently undertaking a research thesis for my Madter's Degree on the attitudes among India's young towards ethical foods.

Discussions are being held with people, aged 18-35 years, who will be asked about their attitudes towards ethical food in India. The interview/focus groups will be moderated and recorded by me and will take approximately 90 minutes of your time. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime. All information provided will be treated in a confidential manner and no names will appear on the transcriptions.

Extracts of the interview may be used in the research report, but you will not be identified in any way. Tapes will be erased following the transcription. No risks are associated with your participation.

If there are any question or concerns you have on this project, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my supervisors Professor Margaret Nowak and Dr. Troy Hendrickson.

Professor Margaret Nowak
Director, Governance and Corporate Social Responsibility Research Unit
Curtin Graduate School of Business
Curtin University
Tel| +61 8 9266 7719
Fax| +61 8 9266 3368
Email| margaret.nowak@curtin.edu.au

Dr Troy Hendrickson
Director, Master of Business Leadership
Curtin Graduate School of Business
Curtin University
Tel| +61 8 9266 4235
Fax| +61 8 9266 3368
Email| troy.hendrickson@curtin.edu.au

<u>Respondent's Statement</u>

I (print full name), _____ ,hereby agree to
participate in the project outlined above. I give my permission to be interviewed and
for the interview to be tape recorded. I understand the nature and intent of the
research and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I understand where to
direct any future questions that I may have. I have received a copy of the consent
form.

Signed (respondent):
Signed (researcher):
Date:

Appendix 2.2 - Respondent recruitment guide for focus groups

My name is *(give name)* from *(mention company)*. I am from a market research agency recruiting for a market research study undertaken by Curtin University of Technology in Perth, Australia. The purpose of this study is to understand food consumption habits among young Indians.

Interviews and focus group discussions are being carried out with people, aged 18-35. The interview/focus groups will be moderated and tape recorded by the research student at Curtin University, and will take approximately 90 minutes of your time.

Extracts of the interview may be used in the research report, but you will not be identified in any way. Tapes will be erased following transcription. No risks are associated with your participation. Would you be interested in sharing your attitudes and opinions as part of this study?

Before we proceed, just wanted to confirm the following:

Q1. Could you please tell me which of these items do you have at home? (It could be owned by you and/or your family <u>or</u> should be used by only just you and/or your family)

1. Electricity connection
2. Ceiling Fan
3. LPG stove
4. Two wheeler
5. Colour TV
6. Refrigerator
7. Washing Machine
8. Personal computer/laptop
9. Car/Jeep/Van
10. Air Conditioner
11. Agricultural land

Total number of items owned: ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯

Q2. Could you please tell me your highest level of education currently? Please do not include any course you are pursuing, just the ones you have completed *(Select: 4 and above)*

1. Illiterate
2. Literate but no formal schooling/Been in school for 4 years
3. Been in school/had schooling for 5 to 9 years
4. SSC/HSC/CBSE – Passed class 10
5. Some college (including a diploma) not graduated
6. Finished college/ have a general graduate/post graduate degree
7. Finished college/have a professional graduate/post graduate degree

Table to identify respondents for ONLY Sec A2, A3 and SEC B – Exclude all others

# of items owned	Illiterate	Literate but no formal schooling/ Been in school for 4 years	Been in school/ had schooling for 5 to 9 years	SSC/HSC/ CBSE – Passed class 10	Some college (including a diploma) not graduated	Finished college/ have a general graduate/ post graduate degree	Finished college/ have a professional graduate/ post graduate degree
None	E3	E2	E2	E2	E2	E1	D2
1	E2	E1	E1	E1	D2	D2	D2
2	E1	E1	D2	D2	D1	D1	D1
3	D2	D2	D1	D1	C2	C2	C2
4	D1	C2	C2	C1	C1	B2	B2
5	C2	C1	C1	B2	B1	B1	B1
6	C1	B2	B2	B1	A3	A3	A3
7	C1	B1	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2
8	B1	A3	A3	A3	A2	A2	A2
9+	B1	A3	A3	A2	A2	A1	A1

Q3. When it comes to making decisions about buying things for your home or yourself (such as furniture, food, clothing etc) which of these statements would best describe you?

1. I make the decisions
2. I make decisions together with the main decision-maker at home
3. I am not the main decision maker at home (Exclude those who select this option)

Q4. What languages do you speak?

1. English
2. Hindi
3. Anything other than English/Hindi (Exclude those who select this option)

Q5. Do you follow a particular religion? If so, could you please indicate what religion are you? This is only for the purpose of ensuring we get a representative cross section of the population

1. Hindu
2. Jain
3. Muslim
4. Sikh
5. Buddhist
6. Other (please specify)

Appendix 3 – Correspondence with market research agency

- Details of correspondence with market research agency
  - Appendix 3.1: Correspondence on method of recruitment and keeping religious groups separate
  - Appendix 3.2: Correspondence on market research segments that are most relevant to the objectives of the research
  - Appendix 3.3: Correspondence on venue for fieldwork
  - Appendix 3.4: Correspondence on schedule for fieldwork

Appendix 3.1 - Correspondence on method of recruitment and keeping religious groups separate

From: Dr.Priyanka Randev [mailto:dr.priyanka@inquest.co.in]
Sent: Tuesday, 31 July 2012 5:02 PM
To: Tani
Cc: Khara, Tani
Subject: Re: Update

Hi Tani,

The respondents will be recruited in the Gurgaon region thus not increasing your budget for local transport of the respondents. They will be identified through street intercept. The concept of religion (Hindu/ Muslim) will be kept into consideration and the respondents will be intercepted from the religion specific localities.

We will be sending across the filled in screeners to you once we receive all.

I understand the particulars required for Ph.D and thus I am taking special care in the recruitment process.

Thanks and Regards.

Dr.Priyanka Randev

Appendix 3.2 - Correspondence on market research segments

From: **Dr.Priyanka Randev** <dr.priyanka@inquest.co.in>
Date: Mon, Jun 4, 2012 at 11:00 PM
Subject: Re: Update
To: Tani Khara <taniteekay@gmail.com>

Hi Tani

Look at my reply in red.

On Mon, Jun 4, 2012 at 3:43 PM, Tani Khara <taniteekay@gmail.com> wrote:

Hi Priyanka,

Nice to finally put a voice to all the emails we've been exchanging over the last few months!

Just wanted to confirm a few of these queries:

1. Under what classification would middle-class come under in India? (SEC A, B, C etc)? *It will be SEC A2 and B1*

2. What would be the total cost for 6 groups for middle-class respondents (this includes recruitment & incentives)? *11800 x 6 = 70800 + service tax of 12.3 % i.e the total will be 79,550. This included the recruitment + incentive + local travel of the respondents.*

3. What is the approximate cost of venue hire - and the cost for audio-visual recording? *It will be between 10,000 to 12,000 plus taxes per day. You can have 3 groups in the venue per day. Since that is the standard charge irrespective of the number of groups. That is if you have one group or three group the cost is charged on per day basis.*

4. Is it possible to hire a venue in Gurgaon, near Delhi? *Yes.*

5. In relation to the 4th question, if the venue is in Gurgaon will it result in a respondent bias or do the groups need to be done in Delhi in order to get a substantial representation of the urban middle-class?-- *It will be better if you can have groups in Delhi.*

As far as our earlier discussion were on i think you were to have your groups in Mumbai then how come you have now decided for Delhi. Though for us is not a problem and we can arrange the groups in Delhi as well.

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Looking forward for meet you soon.

Thanks and Regards

Priyanka.

Appendix 3.3 - Correspondence on venue for fieldwork

On 17/08/2012, at 8:14 PM, "Dr.Priyanka Randev" <dr.priyanka@inquest.co.in> wrote:

Hi Tani,

Attached find the screener details for both the groups on 21st. You will get the details for other groups by tomorrow.

The venue address and group timings are also mentioned.

We will be having the group number 6 and 5 on 24th and group number 3 and 4 on 27th since its ID on 21st and it was difficult to get Muslim pop on those days. Many have gone to their home town. So we will have the Muslim groups on 27th.

Please provide me with your address and local phone number. My person will contact you on 20th and will come and meet you at your place. He will show you all the filled in screeners. My persons name is Rupesh Desai. If you want you can go to the venue in the morning hrs with him and have a look since the first group will take place at 3 pm.

You are requested NOT TO hand over the balance amount cheque to my person. It will be appreciable if you can deposit the same in the near by AXIS bank branch in Gurgaon.

You have my number and you are free to call me for any query.

Thanks and Regards.

Dr. Priyanka Randev

Appendix 3.4 - Correspondence on schedule for fieldwork

On Wed, Aug 15, 2012 at 8:56 AM, Khara,
Tani <Tani.Khara@team.telstra.com> wrote:

Hi Priyanka,

 Could you please provide me with the following details today?

- What time will each of these groups be starting?
- What is the address of the venue - and the contact details of the home owners?
- The receipt with the initial deposit
- The screeners (may not have completed for all the groups but just keep emailing them to me as you get them)

 Regards

Tani

- **Group 1:** Age 18 to 35. SEC A2. Males. Hindu. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 21st August).
- **Group 2:** Age 18 to 35. SEC A2. Females. Hindu. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 21st August)
- **Group 3:** Age 18 to 35. SEC A2. Males. Muslim. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 24th August)
- **Group 4:** Age 18 to 35. SEC A2. Females. Muslim. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 24th August)
- **Group 5:** Age 18 to 35. SEC B. Males. Hindu. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 27th August)
- **Group 6:** Age 18 to 35. SEC B. Females. Hindu. Must be main decision maker of products/services purchased for the home (scheduled for 27th August)

Appendix 4 – Discussion Guide

Discussion Guide (90 minutes)

Introduction

Objective: To explain the purpose of this research.

I am a student at Curtin University in Perth, Australia. I am conducting this study to understand your attitudes towards concepts such as socially responsible behaviour, socially responsible consumption, ethical foods and influences behind your purchase decisions & behaviour. This is an open discussion where everyone's views matter. There is no right or wrong answer as it is simply a personal opinion. So feel free to express yourselves. As per the participant consent form which you have all signed, it is stated that all identities remain anonymous as I am interested in getting a collective view, without identifying any individuals.

Key questions

- Have you heard of the term 'ethical foods' or 'ethical food products' before? Discuss what it means to you
- What types of foods do you consider to be 'ethical foods'? Why? *Moderator to also explore awareness and examples of these types of foods* – 'fair trade', 'organic food', 'animal-welfare foods' and 'responsibly packaged foods'.
- Do you think there is a particular type of consumer who is more likely to buy these types of foods? If so, describe this type/these types of consumers?
- Under what circumstances would you consider/purchase a certain type of ethical food? What type of food & why?
- What do you think needs to be done that make you consider these types of foods more often? Who needs to take responsibility?

Appendix 5 – Thoughts captured during fieldwork

- Emails to supervisors capturing initial thoughts during the fieldwork phase

From: Tani Khara <taniteekay@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Sep 3, 2012 at 12:06 PM
Subject: Update - 6 groups completed (3rd September 2012)
To: Margaret Nowak <Margaret.Nowak@gsb.curtin.edu.au>, Troy Hendrickson <Troy.Hendrickson@gsb.curtin.edu.au>

Hi Margaret, Troy

I've completed 6 groups and starting to see similar themes emerge ie:

- Awareness of the term 'ethical foods' is low/non existent

- Almost always, in the first instance, ethical foods is equated to healthy and more specifically unadulterated foods, given the number of food scandals here.

- Religion plays a role in determining what is ethical among the Hindu groups it was seen as veg food, in many instances. Among the Muslim groups, halal food was seen as ethical.

- After exploring their perspectives on what is 'ethical food', I then gave them some examples ie: fair trade, animal welfare, environmentally responsible. It was seen to be appealing, in principle, but price is a factor. Women, overall, appeared to be slightly more inclined towards foods like this.

So far what I've discovered is that there are layers within layers - what I mean by that is exploring perspectives between women vs men, between religions and between the upper & slightly lower middle class may reveal even more differences but that could be another study altogether.

Regards

Tani

Hi Margaret, Troy

Completed the first 2 groups yesterday - 18 to 35 year old women & 18 to 35 year old men.

Overall, I am seeing similar patterns & themes emerge in comparison to the pilots done in Sydney among Indian students/recent arrivals. From yesterday's groups, here is a summary of insights:

'Ethical foods' as a term not understood - it is met by silence and curious stares (same with the pilots in Sydney). When asked, unprompted, about what 'ethical foods' mean to them, they see it as foods that benefit themselves & their families - the altruistic nature of ethical foods ie: for the common good (people, animals & the planet), is normally not how the middle-class in India would define 'ethical foods'. The middle-class have only recently come into money with higher disposable incomes & now it is all about how they can make a better life for themselves & their immediate families - as per Maslow's hierachy of needs, their immediate needs have to be met first.

Foods that are 'healthy' and 'unadultered' are often described as 'ethical' here - given that food adulteration & scandals involving greedy manufacturers & corrupt government officials are fairly commonplace here, 'healthy' food is almost immediately associated with 'ethical food'. Also foods that are associated with the country (salt of the earth, country foods) also have a strong ethical connotation because it reflects the preservation of Indian tradition and values from the good old days as there is some concern about the erosion of Indian values and tradition, in general.

What I found very interesting was the level of sceptism towards foods that define themselves as ethical ie: foods with fair trade labels, responsible packaging, free range etc - questions were raised as to whether this is a marketing ploy because there is very little awareness of foods like this & people don't actually get to see who is benefitting, therefore they appear to come to the assumption that foods like this are perhaps another spin to manipulate the buyer! *(I will explore this in subsequent groups)*

Among women, I was surprised to discover that religion doesn't play such a significant role in their definition of ethical foods. While they acknowledge that they

have to adhere to family tradition ie: certain types of foods are not allowed, they personally don't subscribe to this thinking (unless this was an unusual group). Where the question of ethics came up was in 'fast foods' that are potentially harmful for their children's health. The rise of diabetes & childhood obesity and advertisers manipulating kids through their ads was discussed with a lot of passion among these women as they felt this had strong unethical implications. Also 'foreign' foods - like Pizza Hut, Mcdonalds and other fast food chains were seen to be an infiltration of traditional Indian culture & therefore the question of morals came here too ie: a departure from the image of a 'good Indian housewife'.

While the men's group reflected similar views to the women's group, there were some interesting differences. Foods that defined their social class and state had a stronger ethical connotation here than among the women's group (ie: being loyal to your community by adhering to their food practices).

I am video recording all these groups & will have CDs for all of them. I'm not making any changes to the discussion guide as I would like to see a pattern emerge. Please let me know if you'd like to discuss

Regards

Tani

Appendix 6 – Translation verification

Dear Tani,

 I am a native Hindi speaker and speak, read and write both English and Hindi with equal proficiency. I have a BA and BEd, and I am a retired teacher.

 I have reviewed the translation made by you. There are only a couple of words that are not exact translations, but the essence is perfectly right. So in effect, I can say that I have reviewed the translation and found it completely on the mark.

The proposed changes do not change the meaning or essence of the translation that you have done. The translation is correct but for academic reasons, here are the changes I have noted:-

Muslim men, 27th August

• Page 13, R- He is doing good (Instead of "He is doing god") for society.

Muslim women, 27th August

• Page 3, R- In our house we eat Goat's meat (Instead of "God's meat")

• Page 11, R- See wheat grows in Punjab (Instead of "See there are crops in Punjab...".)

Hindu men, 24th August

• Page 8, R- Sangad would mean 'the company a person keeps'

- Page 8, M- To aapne khaaya means "So you ate.." .(Instead of so "You were saying...")

- Page 17, R- Hamare liye yeh ethical food nahin hai means "for us it is not ethical food (Instead of "It's not ethical....")

- Page 18, R- Bhadkhate hai means "Instigating them" (Instead of "Taunting them")

Hindu Women, 24th August

- Page 15 R- There is nirog...flour, basin--Please read this as besan (gram flour instead of basin)

As proposed by you, $50 per paper is fine with me ($250 for all the five papers) I started working on the papers on 5th March and finished on 28th March.

The payment can be made into Account number 552009, BSB 736224

 Regards,

Veena

Appendix 7 – Memos & tables of initial findings

- Memos during transcription process and initial analysis

	Hindu Men	Hindu Women	Muslim Men	Muslim Women	Notes - gender	Notes - religion	Notes – big picture
Welfare foods – general perceptions (N=68)							
Awareness (N=20)	Expressed general lack of awareness – "not aware of these types of foods here" AND "Like when I came from india I didn't know anything about saturated fats, my brother in law who lives over here used to tell what is low GI and high GI…see in india I had no awareness	Women show the same response – nobody is aware of these foods Indicated interest though in these foods – "We'll definitely purchase it but there isn't much awareness…now in society we make an effort…" Price & appearance is the key criteria for selection - "we go to the market we know that we are getting this cheap and it's nice to look at so	Lack of awareness shown here too		Women seemed interested in the concept of ethical foods more than men. To men, it was I'm just eating it anyway so what difference does it make (Note: Perhaps the		Healthy food means vegetarian food – general lack of awareness of other facets Either eat meat or you don't – the concept of ethical meat doesn't make sense given the fact that you're eating it

	about the healthy foods, to me healthy food meant vegetarian food" No further thought given to ethical foods, just what's in front of me – "I'm eating them either way….so it doesn't matter. I mean we don't know where it comes from. All I'm seeing is what I'm getting…we are not aware of it" (Note: could there be a more educated or affluent class who will care more about these types of foods?). Also note – "all I'm seeing is the cooked	we get that…"			fact that they're venturing into non-vegetarian territory appears to render the argument of ethical meat useless.		

	food in front of me" creates some distance between the consumer & the food BUT "But if somebody tells you this company slaughters animals like this to prepare the meat then it becomes a big issue…" (perhaps a campaign making people aware of how the food comes onto the plate might help) Difficult to ascertain/t rust where these foods are really coming from – "Yes it does but how do we get to know about it…how						274

	can we really know these things when buying meat? For example we buy Delight which is a brand from Reliance Fresh…but we don't know where it is coming from, how is it being made..it is just being sold so we buy it"						
Treatment of animals (N=8)	Some have said that they prefer animals not to be harmed Others have said I'm eating them either way so what difference does it make – either you don't eat animals (ie: stay veg) Some have said they don't or don't		Would like the animals to be treated well	Feels bad about sick animals being dragged to the slaughter house, feels that healthy animals should be & sick ones should be spared for humane reasons – "hey		Some Muslims feel that it's wrong to slaughter a sick animal	Many – across all religions & genders – say they would like an animal to be treated well. Others have said they don't ask questions, don't think beyond

	bother to ask "questions in the shop if this company slaughters animals, I mean don't know…" Some have adopted the out of the sight, out of mind stance – "like chickens, even you know there is cruelty towards animals, as long as you don't see it then it is ok." People tend to do what suits them & find reasons to justify their behavior – "If you try to justify your wrong so that you can eat it…I've seen people to change their rules to suit			even slaughtered sick animals...i felt very sad hearing about this that these sick animals are...how do people know that these sick animals were slaughtered or were healthy, strong animals slaughtered...so this shouldn't happen that sick animals were forcibly dragged and slaughtered. If an animal is well enough to be slaughtered, then slaughter that one...provided it			what's on their plate (Note: India as a society already has many problems, people are just trying to survive so is that why they are less inclined to think about animal welfare – maybe the upper classes might have a different perspective given their basic needs are fulfilled ?) People try & justify what is right, despite

	their comfort zone"			is well enough.. .if an animals is sick, it needs to be taken to the doctor... ."			it being a wrong
Organic foods	Some say it's not a question of ethics just health (pilot group)	Claim that awareness of such foods has increased However they are constrained by price – "whoever has 2 rupees will buy 2 rupees worth of things"	Consider organic foods to "save this earth" but cost is an issue again – suggested that farmers need to be taught how to produce them at a more "affordable rate…other wise it's too expensive"	Many claim awarene ss is growing – lack of pesticide s & the fact that they are healthy make it ethical			Divided opinion s here – some say the lack of pesticid es and their general health benefits make them ethical foods, some say it's only a questio n of health – not ethics Everyon e agrees though that afforda bility is a proble m
Lack of concer n	Many have said that in general it doesn't matter to them. Lack of awareness				Apathy slightly more appare nt in men. (Note: busy		

	means it's out of sight, out of mind – "All I'm seeing is what I'm getting". General apathy – "I know in this generation nobody cares about what's ethical or ethical food…at least from our perspective" and "youngsters in India don't really care frankly about green food or environmentally friendly food…."				competitive lifestyle, nobody really cares. Maslow's hierarchy of needs comes into this here. BUT that said, ethical foods take on a different nature in India)		
Free range eggs	No opinion – too new/foreign a concept	Some are aware of injections given to cows to produce more milk (so treatment of animals) but no opinion about free range eggs	Some feel the concept would work in India but would need extra rules and regulations to ensure it's done properly				Free range eggs too new/different a concept. Muslim men say it could work but needs to be

							properly enforced given the lax rules in India
Claims there's no relationship				No relationship between ethics and food – "ethical and food are not related I think...both are different things...we don't even ever think that these foods are not ethical therefore we shouldn't eat them, we don't think like that, it is not in our dictionary" (not part of the psyche is the spontaneous answer) AND "So how is ethics related to food....ethics is more related to behaviour, teachings and those things...food &				Generally feel there is no relationship between ethics and food. Health and food is their association, not ethics. Claim that ethical foods is meant for saints. (Note: this wasn't noted in the Hindu group & neither among women but needs to be tested perhaps)

			cholesterol etc how is it related to ethics?" Choice of food is associated with 'health' not 'ethics'. Ethical food is meant for "saints"				
Fair trade food			Some stronger opinions here: They feel - remove the middlemen who make a profit Feel that it is ethical for the farmers not for them, the consumers	Little awareness. Mention of the 'sahara people' who produce good food & others who adulterate them			Little awareness – feel that it is ethical for the farmers but don't see how it is ethical for the consumer
Some interest in the concept		Feels ethical food is a good fit for society in general because "that which is good for us….and good for others too" AND "Because if it's good for the planet, good for the animals…then we won't leave those types of foods" - implying we'll	Similar to Hindu women, making broad conceptual statements but little understanding of what that means day to day & no real willingness to change behavior – "It's good…if it's good for everyone, for animals, the				Women more keen on the concept than men, but only slightly. General statements of one follows the other – in concept, seems promising but little

		continue to eat them (note: the interest among the group for these types of foods but lack of awareness. Also note greater keenness among women than men, only slightly though)	environme nt…if it's good for everyone then it would be good for us too"				awaren ess of what it really means.
Welfar e foods – barriers to adoptio n (N=86)							
Budget constra ints	An ordinary citizen is constraine d by his budget, can only buy within his limits Choosing for planet at any cost is a luxury only the rich can afford Pilot group – felt that a monetary incentive or tax is the only way this could work	Budget constraints too – depends on how marginally expensive it. If it's a little bit, then that's ok but if its double then not (NOTE: what does marginally expensive look like – quantitative exercise) Perception that these foods aren't for the middle class but for the	Perception that organic food is expensive & therefore out of reach for a lot of the middle class. Claims he has put his father on an organic diet out of necessity due to ulcers but it is expensive Feel steps should be taken to subsidise	Concern again that it needs to suit the middle class – one needs to live within one's budget			

	ie: cited the carbon tax Depends on price – if the opportunity cost is low say $2 then it's worth it but if it's a $100 then it's not worth the risk – prefer to stick to tried and tested	rich (NOTE: what do the rich think?)	the price & make it more affordable				
Awareness – lack of	Feels it's pointless trying to look for such foods because they aren't available (Note: could social consciousness be more prevalent among more mature respondents) Lack of awareness of what's going on in the supply chain makes them feel like blind shoppers – we're	They are saying similar things – in the market we don't know what we're buying Women again seem to show more interest in the overall concept ie: the common good than men do		Again – what you see is what you get attitude adopted here.			

	buying blind! Create awareness of something being done wrong – then that creates hype. Two things here: social pressure may have more impact on the collectivist Indian mindset AND the awareness of wrong doing is more powerful than something being done right. General view that it's up the people being exploited to fight this (ie: farmers in this instance)						
Lack of trust – towards the labels	General skepticism towards product labels – seen as marketing and hype	Lack of trust mentioned here too – "It's difficult to trust something completely… no matter	The high probability of being misled creates skepticism – "Anything can	Lack of trust shown here too, labels are misleadi			

rather than making any real difference – "People/Companies use labels to increase their profits…like if you look at electricity consumption labels. Some are five star, some are three star …if you were to purchase five star there's still no guarantee that you would use less electricity?" General lack of trust towards product labels, almost seen as misleading – "If the quality is the same, price is the same…how does one know what's really	what it is. So by looking at the labels we can't tell that is this is right or wrong…" (In a corrupt society like India, how does one create trust beyond labelling – social endorsement perhaps?)	happen…you go to the shops...the meat you think is healthy is actually not safe" (big barriers to get over). Also "We are doing the best we can do...buying foods from places we think are safe but we still get manipulated because people don't tell us what the real truth is" AND "In India there is so much going on, you have check and re-check and be very stern and strict with checking something over here..." There is trust in the government shops, some kind of government endorsement. Shows total lack of	ng – "if it's packed, has all these ingredients in there then we cannot tell...and on the packing it's written that it's this or that" (Note: society like India does not take things at face value, consumers are much more cynical)			

	behind the labels?"		trust in the private sector – "it should be....sold at the government shops to maintain its authencity otherwise normal pulses can be sold at a higher price so we can't differentiate...we're paying more & yet we can't differentiate!" (note the price sensitivity in the middle class. Because of lower disposable incomes, they're even more cautious)				
Live within their means	Many have said that even though they feel like having certain foods, they are restricted or limited by their budget	See organic foods as expensive and even though they are seen to be a better alternative, affordability is the problem. Perception that these foods are expensive					

		Many have said that one of the first criteria that they will look at is the price being middle class buyers. Planet is a good thing but it's not a practical thing till their basic needs are met (Maslow's hierarchy)					
Basic needs to be met first	Some seem to suggest a prevailing selfish attitude means that there isn't a market for such altruistic products. – "people in India are too money minded….like if you take a farmer and you tell him that his production will be doubled by using this type of chemical he will think of his production not about	Me first attitude apparent here too – "the planet and issues relating to the planet is a distant thing for us…first we will see our child, our family, our self and then planet & then everything like environment …we people don't even look at our environment /immediate surroundings so the planet is a distant matter…" AND "We need to look after our children, our families, maintain our					

the people…" AND "It does bother some people, they might show some sympathy but in the end of the day their basic needs and wants surpasses this…" AND "It's a competitive world in India…we have our own problems to think about" AND "because we can't just go…stop our lives, stop everything we're doing and go become an activist…fight for the farmers, starve to death that's not happening…" NOTE: Interestingly the selfishness	culture also. After doing all this first, then perhaps we may look at these things." (this quote suggests that our basic needs have to met first)					

	comes from just trying to survive which comes down to Maslow's needs again (need evidence)						
Welfare foods – what would make them buy? (N=93)							
If the price is right	Like the idea of foods being beneficial to other segments of society but would only consider them "if the price is right" – "But if I were given two products one with the label and one without, if they are comparable prices then I would go for the one with the label…that says it is	Many have also said the price needs to be right – the idea overall – of doing good – is preferred (NOTE: is price sensitivity the only factor though?)					

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	beneficial to the farmer" AND "I said that if it was good for the earth I would consider that provided there is cost comparabi lity" financial constraints can stand in the way of wanting to do good despite people wanting these products						
Healthy	General mentions that foods need to be healthy too	Despite low awareness, attitudes towards the concept are that if it is good for the planet then it must be good for our general health too – overall good food	Feel that people shouldn't compromis e as far as health is concerned – it should be the number one priority as far as food choices go – "but if organic food is 10 rupees extra then they will think but they should not if health is				

			considered. ...but they pay thousands for branded clothes, shoes, they won't think that they pay so much for luxuries but not for food...it should not be like that" General belief that organic foods are healthy foods Openly stated that we will go for something if it is healthy, not ethical (NOTE: Ethical food's appeal appears to lie more in its health implications for one's own self rather than its altruistic benefits)				
Packaging	Attractive packaging/ presentation will help – this is more	Clear labelling of the benefits of the products will help too –		Labelling here meant certification of health –			

	from a marketing point of view	"But if I were given two products one with the label and one without, if they are comparable prices then I would go for the one with the label…that says it is beneficial to the farmer"		general conditions where the products are bought to give buyer's confidence Problem with adulteration in India however a product label might help address some of those concerns – "This is so that in 100% of all foods, 95% have some form of adulteration or another. ..but then what does a man buy and what does he not buy" (NOTE: Althoug			

				h there is mistrust with labelling, better to at least have it – explaining the contents & how it is beneficial than not have it)			
Definition of ethical food (N=170)							
Based on one's cultural background (N=22)	Definition of cultural background – one's community, one's state Tends to also be geographically specific too – North & South India – "Yes…like fushiri…it's something very specific to people from the South like Kerala and Tamil Nadu….so	Veg foods are seen as ethical foods because of tradition and culture has a strong association with one's tradition. (Note: sparing the life of an animal for the animal's sake is not so much of an issue as traditional teachings have forbidden it. It appears to be more important to adhere to traditional			The change in culture – globalization and travel. Some women are trying to find a balance – still trying to hold onto what is 'culturally acceptable' (eg: food		Both genders agree that culture is defined by social guidelines and expectations under which also comes religious expectations – Note many refer to religion as being a part

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	all your life you've had that food and you tend to prefer that food like people from the North have different types of foods" The food customs specific to one's particular community automatically makes that the 'ethical' or the right food for that particular person – "It depends on how the environment looks at you…like when we're talking about right foods and wrong foods" Also alluded to the social environment you live in – "M: So it sounds	teachings to conform rather than other reasons) Hypothesis – is it because conforming to the social norm is important reflecting a collective mindset as opposed to individualism in the West. Might need to delve into different forms of self from psychology or philosophy. Possible influence) Having foods that were not from one's cultural background "was an issue" – reinforcing the hypothesis on social conformity. India is changing now & foods from all around the world are gradually being accepted. (Note: mention India on the cusp of			with same ingredients but Indian is preferred). Cusp of change		of social expectations. Don't discuss the teachings of religion itself. Change is happening – globalization & more people travelling so what is culturally acceptable is changing

	like ethics is defined by social expectatio ns…is that correct or is there something else?; Many responden ts agreed. Changing culturally - fast foods could become the 'ethical' food of cities - meaning that it becomes a part of one's customs and habits, and therefore equates to becoming an 'ethical' food. Pizza at Domino's (This, in part, relates to the change taking place in urban India - possible influence on their attitudes) - "People eat according	change and how this change is influencing attitudes – perhaps more accepting of other foods. Not such a strict criteria enforced on having one's own foods and trying to be ethical about it). 3. Even though food has the same ingredients, foreign foods are still seen to be an assault/erosi on of the culture – "We have this in our tradition too, we have fried bread and chick peas. That has flour, is fried but we think lets not have pizza, let's have this. This is something our tradition has taught us…" (comes under food preferences) 4. Perceived notion that the old social customs had some wisdom in them					

	to their culture and custom…." Expanding on environment – through more travel and exposure to foreign cultures the definition of what is culturally acceptable is changing – "your imagination, thoughts are restricted when you're in your own environment but when you go out in a different country you meet different people from different cultures, around the world….and that changes you"	which is being lost today - following it has its own reward in keeping to tradition but also offers other benefits too like it is "good for our health too" (Note: how much do people want to believe this to the point that they start seeing other benefits in them?)					
Religion (N=18)	Hinduism defines what are ethical		Their foods are determined by different			Hindus aren't allow	Ethical food is also defined

	foods & it's not out of choice – "A lot of people are veg not out of choice but because they follow Hinduism. And because they are Hindus they have to be veg but by choice they are not vegetarian" However – note the change again – departure from religion – "These days..almost say 60 percent of the people are non vegetarian nowdays. But according to Hinduism you cannot eat meat. But these days people eat it……so this something		types of non-veg – 'Halal' and 'non Halal'			ed to eat meat. Although note some similarities between Hindu cultures which like Muslims also pray to and then sacrifice animals and consume their meat. Onions and garlic are forbidden in certain Hindu and Jain cultures too.	by one's religion. Hindus have various interpretations of what is ethical but not eating beef is common. For Muslims it only comes down to Halal and non Halal. Note the departure again from Hinduism – despite people being Hindu, many still eat meat. New model looking at the change in Indian culture – pushing and re-assessing what is

	which is out of ethics" Beef is not allowed in Hinduism because the cow is sacred – "Hindus generally don't eat beef. And the reason is because they consider cows as God, sacred so that's the reason" Different types of beliefs & practices within Hinduism itself – "it's about the family also…like only on the weekends we used to have non vegetarian " and in other instances "Like my dad's family, if they are praying to God, it's customary for them to use meat and						ethical when it comes to consum ption & what is not.

	they do all this puja to the goat or lamb before they actually consume it." In other Hindu cultures, meat eating is not allowed on certain occasions – "They also say that before you go to the temple you're not supposed to eat meat or if there is a particular occasion, like a religious function you are not supposed to eat meat…" Onions and garlic aren't allowed in certain types of Hindu customs. Jainism which is an offshoot of Hinduism						

	(CHECK) also don't permit this – "Yes the Jains…they don't eat it because they see it as unethical, these carrots, potatoes, onions, garlic…"						
Vegetarian foods (Linked to traditional foods) (N=17)	Perceived health benefit in veg foods in general. Also related to this is the effect that meat has on one's mind & moods – "Like you see when it comes to eat meat, there are physical differences and non physical differences …it influence your mind, emotions, create differences and that is what they believe….this is one of the reasons why they	In some instances, it's an association with Indian culture and that is accepted without question – "Because Indian culture is like that…we are always provided with vegetarian food." Belief that veg food means we're getting back to our natural states of being – "Vegetarian food is very pure and fresh, your body should be like that, your soul should be like that. It is nature's	Not an issue here at all	Neither here	Some men mentioned that in certain instances the veg food ethical code needs to be broken – when someone gets sick & needs meat	This doesn't come up among the Muslim groups – just the Hindu groups	Across both men & women, veg foods has a perceived health benefit & meat tends to have a negative emotional and physical effect Veg is especially important for certain occasions and keeping in with tradition, which is what some of these occasio

	don't eat meat… it causes negative energy, these sorts of foods cause negative energy within you" In some instances, the rules on what's ethical can be broken, especially where health is concerned – "Take TB…twenty years ago this was the most dangerous disease. We used to tell the TB patients – eat meat…chicken, eat meat. But we were not meant to eat meat…now this becomes an ethical issue isn't it?" Certain occasions, related to religion, necessitat	food…the way we were meant to be." And "All the things you need…protein, fats, minerals…all these things are good for the body." Keep in with tradition "those are our traditional foods also. So we follow always our tradition."					ns are part of, is important.

ed having vegetarian food – "They also say that before you go to the temple you're not supposed to eat meat or if there is a particular occasion, like a religious function you are not supposed to eat meat…" and during "weddings" Behaviour ie: eating veg or non veg changes with the company one's in and social expectatio ns that come with it – "Yes very strict Hindu beliefs…m y mother…h er side is more relaxed. So when I go to the two different places, I						

	need to change myself, change my diet, change the way I speak…I need to adjust to both. Because they don't allow eating meat, they think of it as eating the dead carcass of an animal which is very wrong." Society has placed expectations that it is a bad thing – "According to my parents eating beef is unethical." And "This includes all non vegetarian food, all meat…not just beef, it's only vegetarian in traditional Hindu weddings because it's						

	culture…meat is considered like a bad thing"					
Foods that affect one's own health (N=14)	Healthy food is the number one priority and it appears it's over & above everything else – "healthy food, it doesn't matter if it's Indian tradition or western tradition… more preference would be towards fresh food, like healthy food…fresh food! I would give that more preference" AND "I look at it from a health concern point of view. I don't eat it because it's got a lot of fat content on it because of health concerns…	For many healthy foods are synonymous with ethical foods. Advice to children later on is – "We give advice to our children ki you eat foods that are nutritious…very nutritious for your body. So nutrition is an important factor" Healthy foods also appear to have larger implications for the planet – "Yes health is everything, it's about the planet…like see what's happening to the water resources…it's diminishing day by day…if we aren't aware what's going to happen tomorrow…so what happens to the time now?"	Health & foods go together. Not sure where ethical foods come in (although note could be a different terminology used) – "We are talking about natural foods, healthy and natural are together… we go for something because it is healthy not ethical. In our mind ethical lives don't exist those are meant for saints…"	Healthy & home cooked foods – "Yes...food that's made at home needs to be healthy, clean...children need to be taught this...otherwise they won't do it"		

	like my parents have a problem with cholesterol so I'm careful." But that said awareness of health foods are low in India – "Like when I came from India I didn't know anything about saturated fats, my brother in law who lives over here used to tell what is low GI and high GI…see in India I had no awareness about the healthy foods, to me healthy food meant vegetarian food….like fish, it has high proteins but consuming chicken or						

	beef I think it was unhealthy …it depends on awareness "						
Family/ Social Expecta tions	Expectatio n that as far as food habits are concerned, one needs to follow one's parents' customs to perpetuat e the custom – "I'm following my parent's customs and traditions …so I would also want my children to follow my tradition…. it shouldn't be the case that our customs come to an end….I've help continue our traditions because I'm following	Expectations that kids need to follow the family customs, some are ok with kids choosing to eat what they want, some aren't as per this example – "We tell our kids not to eat it…but when the kids go to a hostel they see others doing it…so they start to eat a little bit. So they are punished at home or rebuked."					

	my parents…and I want this to continue…our customs need to keep moving on…carried on from generation to generation" AND "I believe in whatever my mother believes in so I just continue with that" AND "see the first thing is culture and religion….that's the top priority when it comes to food (right foods)" Social expectations dictate the way you behave and one needs to project a certain image – "You see if you're considered a religious						

	person, you have show the people that you are in…even if you don't believe in it you have to show people that you believe in it to be part of the community otherwise you'll be ostracized!"					
Tradition (linked to vegetarian)	Ethical foods and traditional foods are synonymous – "Ethical foods for me refers to traditional foods…like normal Indian diet, north Indian diet…roti, lentils, vegetables …non veg is not included in that" or Foods of the family or ancestors – "Tradition					

	al means those foods which we are following from centuries….and these are the foods of our ancestors" and "traditional foods….like what your parents used to make" Traditional foods and therefore ethical food can be defined by the society & state you come from – so there is diversity within India – "you go to south india, then idli vada dosa is their ethical food…and if you go to Haryana, then milk, curd…these are our ethical						

	foods…cha patti…is our ethical food..” (Note: Ethical food doesn't mean the same thing across India but can vary by community & state) ie: "There are similarities across states too…what ever is their tradition that becomes their ethical food." Note even though there is diversity, what is ethical ie: foods of the community and state are different – "Like fish is considered to be ethical food in Bengal. And in the villages, people use						

	stoves not gas. This is also comes under ethical food. One could get everything (different sorts of foods) in one state, they eat everything but ethical foods are something else…" Also commented that food companies tend to adopt this practice of associating their foods with tradition to make it appealing – "what these companies do is try to find someway to relate their foods with natural, traditional foods. Like mustard oil…they give it this name. Why raw beans? Because they try to						

	associate it with raw, natural foods. They try to relate it with our traditional foods…as in ethical foods."						
Foods from a revered public figure – Baba Ramdev. (Note some association with health)		Revered as a holy man who does good for society – his products are associated with ethical foods because – they're sold in the holy place of Hardwar Also it's a big deal that his foods don't appear to have a commercial bent The ayurvedic ingredients of his products believed to offer healthy & wholesome ingredients which is why it is well liked	"when it comes to organic, he's doing the right thing"	Some also like the fact that they are made from natural ingredients – "If anyone has a problem then they use those products …they are ayurvedic, natural hai (but note – different, lukewarm response compared to the Hindu group)"			Baba Ramdev as a Hindu figure is more revered among women & Hindus, less so among Men and Muslims
Muslim definition of ethical food						Don't have the sort of variati	

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						ons that Hindus have. It's just halal meat – otherwise there are no other restrictions	
Based on one's current living circumstances	Ethical foods depends on your current circumstances & what feels right for you – "Ethical foods totally depends on the atmosphere, culture and religion you come from. Those days aren't far when pizza becomes the ethical food of metro cities. You'll be able to get it at night at 10 o'clock. If						

there are no vegetables in the market, then we can go to Domino's etc, I can get my food in 30 mins." (Note: changing India) Availability equates to ethical foods – "So what I'm saying is that it's all about availability . Whatever is available to fulfill our needs at that point in time that becomes ethical for us." Defined by what is socially acceptable at that point in time – "In an environment like if you're working professionally, Friday night is when everyone						

	goes out to the pub and has a drink. It's just a thing everyone does to mingle and talk. You just stand out if you're having Coke and everyone else is having a bottle of beer…and that point you go ok it feels weird to be the odd one out and it's just one night of the week, so you go ok have one" (note: peer pressure)						
No definition – it's a personal preference	Depends on a person's own unique beliefs at the end of the day – "but I think it differs according to people's opinions… so according to me, my		Feel ethics to be a social constraint/ restrictive perhaps so they say it's up to a person to eat whatever he/she likes provided its halal				

	ethics I'm not supposed to eat this…according to my mom I'm not supposed to eat onion, garlic and all these things but according to me my ethics says that onion, garlic are fine…so it varies according to the person" (Note: generational gap) People bend the rules to suit them – "See on an auspicious day, people are not supposed to eat meat. But I eat it. So my parents go let's not cook it but let's buy it as long as we're not cooking it it's ok. So people						

	keep bending the rules to see what suits them"						

Appendix 8 – Coding Frame on Nvivo

- Coding frame for this study done on qualitative software Nvivo.

Nodes

Name	Sources	References ▽	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By	
Definition of ethical food - spontaneous	6	192	5/28/2013 3:37 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Ethical foods - barriers to adoption	6	97	5/28/2013 5:08 PM	TK	8/26/2014 2:04 PM	K	
Ethical foods - what would encourage consideration and purchase	6	94	5/28/2013 5:09 PM	TK	8/26/2014 2:05 PM	K	
Ethical food examples - general perceptions and responses	6	74	5/28/2013 4:49 PM	TK	8/26/2014 2:05 PM	K	
Food preferences & habits - what they look for	6	73	5/9/2013 4:46 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Definition of ethics	6	67	5/9/2013 4:54 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Definition of unethical foods - spontaneous	5	59	5/29/2013 3:18 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Perceived problems with food habits and consumption today	5	51	5/28/2013 4:09 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Perceived problems of Indian society in general	4	39	5/9/2013 4:59 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Barriers to adopting what they define as 'ethical foods'	5	39	5/28/2013 3:49 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Changing food habits	4	32	5/29/2013 3:22 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards vegetarianism	2	25	5/29/2013 2:50 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Indian middle class state of mind	3	20	5/9/2013 5:58 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes - erosion of values among today's generation	1	15	7/1/2013 9:53 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards money	1	11	5/9/2013 5:34 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Spontaneous environmental concerns	4	9	5/28/2013 5:02 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Satyamev Jayate	3	8	6/4/2013 10:53 AM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards food in general	2	8	6/24/2013 8:37 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Why certain foods are perceived to be ethical	1	6	5/28/2013 5:46 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Definition of tradition and attitudes towards it	1	6	7/1/2013 10:12 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards consumption of what people define as 'unethical' food	1	6	7/4/2013 10:25 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards religion	3	4	6/1/2013 5:30 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Ethical foods - who are the buyers	2	4	6/19/2013 8:09 PM	TK	8/26/2014 2:06 PM	K	
Food marketing to kids	2	4	6/26/2013 8:03 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Pretence and ethical behaviour and food	2	4	7/1/2013 3:47 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Altruism	1	2	5/28/2013 5:18 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Association with Gandhi and food and culture	1	2	6/23/2013 6:44 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards meat consumption	1	2	7/8/2013 1:56 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Perceived necessities in today's society	1	1	5/9/2013 5:36 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
Attitudes towards environmentally responsible behaviour	1	1	6/19/2013 8:02 PM	TK	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	
New types of TV programmes creating awareness of social issues	1	1	7/23/2013 7:38 PM	K	9/20/2013 10:50 AM	K	